



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

PL RESEARCH LIBRARIES



33 07079681 2





THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

Published by the
Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States.

VOLUME XI.



St. Louis:
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1907.

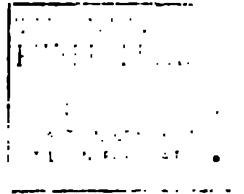


TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-Will in the Augsburg Confession	1
Dr. Martin Luther's Treatise of Confession, Whether the Pope Have	
Power to Enjoin Same.....	17
The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary....	31
John Wiclif	41
Book Review	50
Evidence of the Resurrection of the Lord.....	65
The Consciousness of Sin	78
The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary....	85
John Wiclif	97
In Behalf of Paul Gerhardt and the Elenchus.....	107
Wartburg Letters of Luther.....	122
Evidence of the Resurrection of the Lord	129
The Consciousness of Sin	155
The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary....	163
John Wiclif	172
Wartburg Letters of Luther.....	185
Book Review	189
Cordatus' Controversy with Melanchthon.....	193
The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary....	208
Faith	219
Wartburg Letters of Luther.....	229
Book Review	233

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-Will in the Augsburg Confession.	1
Dr. Martin Luther's Treatise of Confession, Whether the Pope Have Power to Enjoin Same.	17
The Pivotal Texts of the Casuism with a Practical Commentary.	31
John Wiclif.	41
Book Review.	50

THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

VOL. XI.

JANUARY, 1907.

No. 1.

THE OLD LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF FREE-WILL IN THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

(Concluded.)

To His Church the Holy One has given the *correct means of being constituted and made one*: "I have given them *Thy Word* and I pray for them, not only for them, but also for all who *by their Word* believe on me, that they may be one," John 17. Thus the Church is made, constituted, and forever kept together by the Word, not by a confession. This Church—and this only—can make a true confession of what constitutes her. That is the psychological order. We presume that Dr. Richard is able to give from memory a correct Lutheran definition of the Church, but not being of it he stumbles when he steps up to her from a different direction—here from the relation of Church and doctrine. We may mark his way of proving the prevalence of free-will by the confessions as unacknowledged rationalism. Let us hang it low, that he who runs may read. We quote Dr. Richard: "It is in part"—what are the remains?—"with the hope of making at least a small contribution to the inculcation of the principles stated above" (that Lutherans must be clocks never striking and ticking alike) "that we now advance to the discussion of the subject placed at the head of this article (The Old Lutheran Doctrine of Free-will), and we begin with the year 1530, for prior to that time there was no Lutheran Church, but only Lutherans, who were united in opposition to the teaching of the Roman Catholic

Church, rather than in a distinct program of their own. Indeed, prior to 1530 there was no general confession of faith among Lutherans, no single bond that held them together and constituted them a Church." We may be allowed to interject a few pricks in the form of questions into this corollary of historical assumptions. Where was, prior to 1530, the Church that Christ founded and of which He said the gates of hell should not prevail against her? Was it yet the Roman Church, and were its opposers the gates of hell let loose? Was Luther at Worms a traitor to the Church, or a confessor of the Church? Was he the founder of a new church, or was he at this time the whole Church? For all these questions, which arise out of above "historical" assertion, Romanists will have a ready answer, while Christians must bow their heads in shame! Another series of questions suggested by a reading of the above make a Lutheran despair, for instance: How could Lutherans recognize each other as being of the Church, when there was no Lutheran Church prior to 1530? How could Lutherans come together and act in unison at confessing their faith, if they had no single common bond? How could they know their faith, or the faith of the Church they were to confess? Was Melancthon the one who knew it, made it up for the princes by whom it was imposed on their subjects? These questions are easily disposed of when we know that the Word of God is the creator of the Church, the faith it has, the bond of all its believers, that constitutes them a Church — confession or no confession in writing. But they will empty the deepest well of psychology, recurring again and again, if the Confession assumes the prerogatives of the Word. The Confession, therefore, remains with a true Lutheran a document of faith to be explained in the sense of the Scripture, neither placed in lieu of it, nor placed on a par with private writings, nor explained according to them. The latter we would rather interpret, if possible, according to the sense of the Confession as long as their authors continue to affirm their adherence to it. We would extend such charity even to Dr. Richard, if his devia-

tions were not so glaringly and boastfully displayed. Only an unbeliever can maintain that the Church makes her faith by creeds, and it is a blasphemy of the Holy One and His Word that a Confession creates and constitutes His Church. It is a psychological impossibility to use the Augsburg Confession as documentary evidence for the maintenance of contrary teachings found in private writings.

After clearing up the right relation between the Augustana and the Church on the one hand, and the Augustana and the private writings of its confessors on the other, we now advance to what Dr. Richard regards as the strongest proof, that some free-will (remember: in spiritual things) was the old Lutheran doctrine, because it prevailed between 1530 and 1560, namely: It must be found in the 18th Article, because "it prevailed among the teachers who wrote the Augsburg Confession and continued to affirm it." We must remind him strongly that we have severed the Confession from the private writings of its author and other adherents. It never was Melancthon's book, as he was reminded by Luther, but the Church's book. It stands in a special category as the faith confessed by the Church. As we have shown on what authority it rests and what authority for us we may give it, we intend to examine it in the light of the Word of God and find out if its expression covers as much as was necessary, at that time, to confess. The point of controversy with us cannot be: "Is the doctrine of free-will *in rebus divinis* contained in the Augsburg Confession, because it prevailed among teachers who wrote it and continued to affirm it?" but: Does the Augsburg Confession either explicitly or impliedly contain, as part of the scriptural doctrine set forth in it, the doctrine of free-will *in rebus divinis*, or the ability of natural man to accomplish more or less of spiritual works? We subjoin the last clause, as we infer from Dr. Richard's utterances that he has no clear conception of free-will, and might understand us to say that man does not act *in any way*, neither resisting in his bound will, nor doing, when his will has come to life (faith and sanctification). We

surely believe that spiritual man, created by the power of God through the Word, moves, acts, chooses, and does everything commanded by God, and this he does not by any other mind or will than by the same by which he, in his unconverted state, rejected God's proffered grace, in which state and activities it is sustained also solely by the power of God through the Word. If Dr. Richard has not known this fact of our teaching thus far, we are glad to inform him of this fact, and beg him to store it in his memory. We simply deny with the Confession that man *acts* in any way *together with* the Holy Spirit in the spiritual act of getting to life (conversion — faith) and *in the moving* to spiritual works. This, we assert and are going to prove, is contained in the Augsburg Confession, explained by the Holy Scripture, of whose doctrines it claims to be an exhibition. Dr. Richard says: The private writings explicitly and impliedly teach free-will, i. e., man with his own powers cooperates somewhat and somehow toward his salvation; therefore the Augsburg Confession cannot but contain, explicitly and impliedly, the same doctrine, if read without interpolation. We beg to assure him that we are not going to read things into the Confession which are not in it. But must we not suspect him at the outset of interpolation when he is going to look at it through the private writings and their *supposed* teaching of free-will, the baselessness of which supposition we have no space to show?

Taking up the reasons of Dr. Richard we beg to acknowledge gladly that the teaching therein of unfree-will is not enforced by such strong language as Luther used in his private writings and as was afterward found necessary in the Form of Concord against such as intended to pervert the sense of the early Confession and which we must employ against Dr. Richard. We purposely are glad; for it favors beforehand in an inargumentative way our contention versus Dr. Richard that at this time there was *no one among* the confessors *disputing* (at least not openly) the teaching of unfree-will in the Church confessing. The contention of Dr. Richard that this strong language

was *purposely* omitted, *because it did not prevail*, we assign, without hesitation, to the deepest limbo of psychological enigmas in Dr. Richard's historical research. We rather praise the confessors for being suave in manner though strong in the matter, as will appear further on. They had, by their manner of confessing, to make the most favorable impression on friends and foes alike, to stop the caviling of their formidable oppressors, win the favor of the undecided, and retain the trust of all for whom they were confessing—the Church. And they did it. Glorious spectacle this! They did it by their modesty and suavity. Every true confession of the Church has this halo of modesty and suavity about it, and we ask Dr. Richard to point out the want of it even in the Form of Concord.

How glad Luther felt about this grace of the Confession we gather from his comment, when it was sent to him for approval: "I have read Magister Philip's Apology, which pleases me well and find nothing to correct nor to change; would also be unfit; for I cannot step so graciously and softly. Christ, our Lord, may make it bring forth much and large fruit, for which we hope and pray. Amen." As Dr. Richard enlarges greatly on the fact, that the Confession does not contain any likening of man "to a stone, block, and statue," and on this ground takes it for granted that it *must contain* free-will in divine matters, and is afraid someone might read such likening into it, we disclaim any intention of this kind. We confess at once: These to him obnoxious words are not in it, though we entirely disagree with him as to the historical motive of such omission.

But for all that we are not going to let Dr. Richard squeeze the 18th Article of the Augsburg Confession until he gets, not the juice, but the wood-pulp. We quote it: "Of free-will it is taught that in some sense man has free-will outwardly to live honorably and to choose among things which reason comprehends; but without the grace, assistance, and operation of the Holy Spirit man is not able to become pleasing to God, to fear God heartily, or to believe in Him, or to cast the evil inborn

concupiscence out of his heart; but such things are effected through the Holy Spirit, who is given through the Word of God." We wish to state that we abide by these very words without omission, interpolations, or mental reading between its lines from anything outside.

Unhappily we cannot say the same of Dr. Richard. He has extracted the following sense out of it: "First. It *vindicates* the *essential* freedom of the human will, in that it declares that man, that is, the natural man, has the power of choice. . . . It is the power by which he determines to hear and to meditate on the Word of God, which is the *conditio sine qua non* of his becoming a Christian." The part left out is filled up by a psychological disquisition.

We are not concerned in it, much as Dr. Richard wants us to be. The quoted words are to be the sense of the first clause of the 18th Article. That they *must* be in, because of their prevalence at the time, is fortified by a quotation from Melanchthon's *De Anima* (C. R. 3, 153) where Melanchthon gives a *general definition* of the will, from whence Dr. Richard argues *the possession of free-will in divine things, because Melanchthon applies not the stock, stone, and statue likening to the natural man*, but ascribes *velle ac nolle* to man and states his ability to regulate his external actions in regard to what *seems* good or evil, Melanchthon thereby clearly indicating that the whole disquisition does not pertain to the question in hand. "It is therefore Lutheran to affirm that the human will possesses the inherent power of choice made known to the understanding (reason)." We believe this latter announcement partly to be true, that is, in regard to natural things and actions, but not to the extent Dr. Richard wants, as the Confession limits this inherent power to "*power in some sense*," namely, to lead an outwardly honorable life and to choose in things which reason comprehends, explaining what those things are by a quotation from Augustine: "He may will or choose or not will or choose to labor in the field, eat and drink, dress so or so, marry, raise cattle, and numerous other things that

are good for this life, and he may will to do evil things: to worship an idol, to murder, and so on."

Now as to the first part of what he styles "the explicit statement of the Confession," viz.: "It vindicates the essential freedom of the human will, in that it declares that man, that is, natural man, has the power of choice." The Confession, to a plain reader, says just the reverse. To him it appears that it is not the object of the Confession to "vindicate" the essential freedom of the human will, but that statement is the incidental reflection back of a much greater and weightier matter *allowing some freedom* for the human will, the power of which in spiritual things is to be altogether denied. No mention is made of any "essential" freedom, but it is limited by the Confession to freedom "in some sense," not even extending it to all matters of this life. But of the second part of Dr. Richard's "explicit statement of the Confession," that the human will is "the power by which he determines to hear and to meditate on the Word of God," *not one word* is found in the Confession. It is silent as the grave. It is altogether a fabrication of Dr. Richard, which he has interpolated, "read into the Confession." From the Word of God, by which we are bound to get the sense of the Confession, it appears that hearing and meditating on the Word of God is a spiritual activity (Luke 11, 28; John 6, 45; 8, 37, etc.), which is excluded from the human will in its natural state by the second clause of the 18th Article, enforced anon of this spiritual work in the German text of the Confession by the passage 2 Cor. 2, 14: "The natural man perceiveth" (= heareth, meditateth, understandeth) "not the things of the Spirit of God" (*i. e.*, the Gospel). Dr. Richard's argument for the prevalence of his old Lutheran doctrine that man has free-will in spiritual things, falls flat, in so far as his "explicit statement" of the same in the first confession is missing.

We now proceed to his second so-called "implied statement of the Confession" of his doctrine of free-will, which he finds in the second clause of the 18th Article, interpreted, of

course, through private writings thus: "That by such *grace*, assistance, and operation he (natural man) *can do* these things that are required of him in his relation to God. The *underlying* idea is that grace imparts strength and power to the will, and this it does by illumining the understanding and by impact as of personality upon personality." (Of this last we have no cognizance. We only know that the Holy Ghost operated upon us by the Word. If Dr. Richard's personality has been worked upon by "impact of the Holy Spirit's personality" we will not dispute it at present as out of our way. But perhaps this Zwinglian leaven causes his befuddling in the matter at issue.) This "implied statement" he has also fortified by a quotation from *De Anima* (C. R. 13, 162; we cannot verify it, but assume it to be correctly given), in which Melanchthon affirms that the Holy Spirit does not create a new faculty of will, but operates upon the same faculty which man has in natural matters under the bondage of Satan, renewing it for use in spiritual things. We have no quarrel with Melanchthon on this point, but we add that such *renewing* operation is called in Scripture a *creation* (Ps. 51, 11: "Create in me a clean heart") and the *renewed* heart a *new* heart (Jer.) a new man, a new creature.

According to Dr. Richard, this means "that the human will is *stimulated* and *energized* by the Holy Spirit and *made competent* for action" and considers it "the *plain* and common-sense meaning of the Confession" though it is only "the implied statement" as he had said a few lines ahead. As an authority he affirms: "As such it must be regarded." And yet, certain he is only "that the absolute passivity of the will is neither expressed nor implied in the 18th Article." Under these circumstances we may join issue with his authority.

Now a plain reader, who is not well versed in reading between the lines nor has the spectacles of private writings on hand, will get the following sense out of the words of the 18th Article: Man has *some* — not all — free-will to conduct his outward life according to what he understands by his reason; but (an opposing and excluding conjunction in all kinds of

grammar) he is *not able* (opposed by "but" to free-will in matters of reason, it can but mean: has no free will or ability) to become pleasing, fearing, and believing God heartily, or to cast out of his heart (the special seat of the evil will: Matt. 15, 9) the inborn evil concupiscence (the will to do evil), save by the grace, assistance, and operation of the Holy Spirit, who works through the Word (not through any "impact of personality upon personality"). If this sense is not founded on the words of the Confession, we have no means to know what words say. Worldly men, like Talleyrand, may use words to conceal their thoughts, but we do not expect it from confessors of Christian Truth. We run on this horn of the dilemma proposed by Dr. Richard without a shiver. The composers of the Confession may be, for what we do not know, the worst knaves and rogues, but here they were the greatest saints: confessors of God's Truth. (Cf. for a scriptural example Peter, Matt. 16, 16—23.) All of Dr. Richard's erudition *cannot change the words* and to the *words* of the Confession we cling, even to those which have, with him, such a Pickwickian meaning. We ask Dr. Richard: Do we find the words: Man "*can do these things*" in the Augsburg Confession? Do the words: The will is "stimulated," "energized," "made competent for action," occur in the 18th Article, or are they synonyms for any words used therein? As a reasonable man he will answer: No, they are "the underlying idea."

Now we hold that there are, for some truths expressed, underlying ideas, *i. e.*, other truths. They lie at the bottom of the superstructure. They are the causes, or reasons, including the smaller truth, but never opposed to the expression of the same. The 18th Article expresses with so many words the truth: Man is not able to do spiritual works. Can this be grounded on Dr. Richard's "underlying idea": Man *can do* these spiritual works? Not by any means. The cause cannot be the opposite of the effect, as Dr. Richard's underlying idea is to the 18th Article. It is extracted from the antonyms of the expressions of the truth and put beside the truth nullify-

ing it. We will give the underlying idea of the words of the Confession in the last clause of the 18th Article, the same of which Dr. Richard has given them. The Holy Spirit through the Word "*is given*" (concupitur = received), because natural man has Him not nor His Word and activities, "assists," because man is unable to do what he ought, and "operates on man's will," because it is bound, yea, dead in trespasses and sins, without power to operate. The underlying idea of the truth expressed by the 18th Article, that man is not able to do spiritual works is given by the 2d Article of the Confession: "Of Original Sin: Further they teach that after the fall of Adam all men naturally born are conceived and born in sin, that is, that they all from their mother's womb are *full* of concupiscence and evil propensities and have not by nature true fear of God nor true faith in God." The 18th Article cannot but confess the truth arising out of this general truth in regard to the will of man in conversion. Standing on the bed-rock of the Scriptural truth confessed in the 2d Article, it gives a clear note: Because man's will is unable, the Holy Spirit does all. It gives no explanation, because Scripture supplies none.

We have to say a few words on how Dr. Richard gets at his "underlying idea," that the human will cooperates in spiritual works. He sublimates it by a mysterious psychology from the words "assists" and "assistance (Hilfe = auxilium)." According to Dr. Richard (*Luth. Quarterly*, Jan., 1904) we have not advanced to this newly invented psychology. Therefore we want to look at it closely and set it down for our inspection. "The activity of the will under such divine operation is clearly implied, otherwise there would be no meaning in the word 'assistance,' and conversion would be *per modum coactionis* (compulsory). . . . The will must decide. . . . Otherwise, conversion is left without ethical content, and the abiding in sin is without responsibility. . . . Its own conduct (Verhalten) now determines its destiny." Let us see: If the Doctor "assists" some wayfaring Willy by an alms, the beggar has acted, assisted, or helped the Doctor, because the beggar *decided*

to take or lay hold on (*concupitur*) the bounty. The Doctor's "assistance" could be no alone activity of his and absolute passivity of the tramp, but implied the activity of the tramp, otherwise there would be no meaning in the word "assistance," and the reception of the gift would be compulsory. Therefore the tramp "assisted" in the assistance. They "assisted" each other. It was the Doctor-ward and tramp-ward side of the Doctor's "assistance," according to a later dictum of Dr. Richard. Thus we have set the psychology of assistance before our mind. But as the worst tramp would decline such psychological honors, our will declines such honor from Dr. Richard in conversion. We need a conversion by the Holy Spirit in His way of assistance, which we show in the following manner: If I assist a man found lying on the road with a broken leg and bring him to a surgeon, *I* do the assisting alone. It is my activity. If he says: "I will assist you by *deciding to allow* you to help me," I will call him impudent or consider him mad from pain, yet try to help him, but *let him alone if he resists*. My underlying idea (and I should insist that it be his also) is, when I help or assist him, *that he cannot help himself*. In my act of assisting he can do nothing. He may have all his will, but it is unavailing, powerless. My assistance is my "alone activity" and his assistance "absolute passivity." *My* good will only comes into consideration, his will not in the least. According to Dr. Richard's logic his will is of the highest importance in my saving him. His salvation would be without ethical content. But we must insist that the ethical content lies wholly on my side, and he gets the benefit. This is all he needs, and it would be no compulsion either. Wholly aside from my assistance it is when the fallen and helpless man rejects my proffered aid. In *his rejection* his will enters even to preventing my assistance, and he must bear all responsibility. The consequences rest on him alone. By applying this to the conversion of man, it will be seen that alone activity and absolute passivity is "the underlying idea" of the word "assist," used in the 18th Article of the Confession enforced in front by the grace and in the rear by

the operation of the Holy Spirit both in the acts of conversion (getting faith) and sanctification. This doctrine is in the Augsburg Confession, therefore the old Lutheran doctrine. If Dr. Richard cannot see it, we must beg him to revise his psychological conception and to rely on the words instead of hunting for some cabalistic meaning in accordance with private writings. Until then we call his "ethical content" of conversion "the pride of mortal, that rushes in where angels fear to tread."

We must as yet look into the historical facts for the maintenance of Dr. Richard's contention that free-will *in rebus divinis* is in the Augsburg Confession and therefore the old Lutheran doctrine, though we confess only to a smattering of historical knowledge and have no means of verifying our data. This argument is based on the same psychology noted above. It is to be "in," because it prevailed; and because some very different bedfellows held it, therefore it prevailed. We condense it: The Romanists found no fault with the 18th Article, and the Protestant confessors did not object to their doing so, therefore the Protestants understood it in the sense of the Romanists. It must thus contain free-will in spiritual matters, because Romanists cling strenuously to it. Dr. Richard has proved all, immensely more than he needs to do. Aristotle was childish when he ruled: "Probatur magis, probatur nihil."

Now for the single historical facts of Dr. Richard. "In both cases (in the two confutations of the Augsburg Confession, the first and that of August 3) they (the Roman confutators) state how they understand the article *De Libero Arbitrio*, that is, essentially as Melancthon had explained in his private writings of 1527—'30." But if they say so, he has failed to quote their correct sayings. He cites from the first Confutation only the words: "Sana et catholica est haec assertio principium," and he adds: "and warn against the determinism expressed in Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* and the first edition of Melancthon's *Loci*. Have they really had in mind only the editio prima? We would like Dr. Richard to be explicit, if they did so. But the confutators do say nothing "that they

understood the article as Melancthon had explained free-will." We at least are thoroughly at sea as to that from their quoted words. Much less than that, the confutators of August 3d express: "Quae confessio acceptatur et approbatur." Thus the giant's assertion sweeps far wider than his cited quotation. It is for the *largest* part unproved. If the component integral part of the whole is unproved, the whole is unproved. But what *seems* to be proved, according to the giant's quotation, is, that if we must accept the confutators as sincere and understanding what they say, the 18th Article of the Confession is thoroughly Roman, that is: "that the moral nature of man through the Fall is *somewhat weakened*, yet man has as yet the freedom of will for choice between good and evil. He has strength to withstand evil concupiscence, to do the good, and to *cooperate* to his conversion." (Rohnert's Dogmatik, p. 218.) If this is true, Luther might have spared his trouble at reforming the Church, and the confessors the trouble to confess.

Now comes the witness of the confessors to such interpretation. The Lutheran parties of the Committee of Reconciliation (two princes, two jurists, three theologians) "reported: In the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th articles there is no difference." Melancthon "made no mention of the 18th Article of the Confession in the first draft of the Apology." "Moreover, the Confession (Art. 21) *boasts*"—we find no boasting in it—"that there is nothing in it (the Confession, not the 18th Article) which is discrepant with the Scriptures, or with the Catholic Church, or with the Roman Church, in so far as is known from writers." This Dr. Richard, like a true sophist, applies only to the 18th Article, while the Confession applies it to its whole contents. If it makes the 18th Article to be understood in the Roman sense, then the whole Confession is to be understood in the Roman sense, *quod absurdum est*. This is truly sweeping. Dr. Richard again has proved it all. We all, including Dr. Richard, are Roman papists, 1) in regard to the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th articles; 2) in regard to the whole Augsburg Confession. Dr. Richard will have to resort and

subscribe to the Form of Concord if he wants to remain a Protestant.

But we have compassion for him and will help him to remain a Protestant and Lutheran by simply clinging to the Augsburg Confession. For the first we give him a *correct view of the whole Confession*, including Article 18, by translating from the German text the "boast" of the Church for her Confession in the 2d Article: "For inasmuch the same (Confession) be clearly founded on Holy Scripture and, furthermore, is not discrepant nor contrary to the Catholic Christian, yea, even the Roman Church, as can be learned from the writings of the Fathers, we hold that our opponents cannot be dissenting from us in the articles shown above." We think that the Latin text, which Dr. Richard has translated, does not teach anything else. From the history of the Augsburg Confession we remember that the princes at the Diet (June 25, 1530) said of the Latin copy that it "was put together in haste and bad to read," when Emperor Charles V insisted on its reading. We further remember that the confessors had to put in "differences" according to the imperial convocation of the Diet at Augsburg. Therefore the contention of the confessors cited above means that *they were* the true Catholic Church, and their opponents, where they disagreed, not in accord with the Church. They were true confessors who were neither "insincere," did not "equivocate," did not "hide their convictions," did not "mutilate and obscure their faith," but "did heroically witness and faithfully defend it, as far as this argument is concerned." On that horn of the proposed dilemma we stake ourselves.

As regards the 18th Article, for which the Committee reported agreement, because the Romanists did not object, Melancthon *made* mention of it as soon as the Apology was to go into publicity, while it was unnecessary at the time when it was to be delivered to the Emperor. Should the confessors anger the Emperor yet more by objecting to him what his confutators had pleased to find correct? But Melancthon stated

the difference completely to his co-confessors, when publishing the Apology, because Emperor Charles had refused it.

We translate a few sentences from the Apology to show how Melanchthon and the Church understood their confession and pointed out the differences. "Our opponents accept the 18th Article of free-will, though they quote a few sentences from Scripture which do (in the opinion of the opponents) not agree with it. They also make a great clamor (noise) thereof, that free-will should not be exalted as Pelagians do, and should not take therefrom too much with the Manicheans. That they may well say! For what difference is there between the Pelagians and our opponents, if they both teach that men can love God, keep the commandments *quoad substantiam actuum* (in so far as the substance of the acts is concerned), that is, do good works without the Holy Spirit by means of their natural reason to merit the grace of God? What numerous errors follow from this Pelagian teaching which they so strongly drive and preach in their schools! . . . We ALSO say that man's will has *some freedom*. For in things which may be comprehended by reason (*quas ratio per se comprehendit*) we have a free-will. There is in us, *in small measure*, a power of choice to lead outwardly an honorable life, to speak of God, to show outward worship or holy manners, to obey the government and parents, not to steal and murder. . . . This the Holy Scripture calls the *righteousness of the Law or of the flesh* . . . though the inherited evil concupiscence is so powerful that men follow the same oftener than their reason. And the devil, who according to Paul works powerfully in the godless, provokes and entices the poor, weak nature to all sins. . . . BUT such hearts as are without the Holy Spirit are without fear of God, faith, and trust, believe not that God forgives sins and hears prayers. Therefore they are godless. . . . But *free-will and reason are powerless* (unable) to have true faith," etc.

We shield "Melanchthon's memory from falsehood, treason, and hypocrisy" by showing that he knew the difference between his co-confessors and the confutators, and confessed it

when he had to do it. Melancthon also distinctly states of the 9th and 10th articles, *without pointing out the difference* between the Roman and the Protestant interpretation, that the confutators did not object to them, and the 9th Article is mentioned by the confutators themselves as correct. Did he and his co-confessors for that reason endorse the Roman doctrines of the *opus operatum*, transubstantiation, etc.? We will remind Dr. Richard only of the York and Canton resolution of the General Synod of which he has been a stout defender (as far as we know).

Now in regard to the "Lutheran seven" members of the Committee of Reconciliation, August 18, 1530. Did "they equivocate, hide their convictions, mutilate and obscure their faith"? We say they *did* faithfully witness and heroically defend their faith, not only when they subscribed the Confession, but also when their opponents were in ascendancy. They defended it in Committee from Scripture, Church (even Roman) authorities, etc., so strongly, that the Romanists had to *let it pass*, because they could bring no true reason against it, for which the Apology is witness, declaring that they had made a great noise against it. They had to let it, like some other articles, pass and report agreement, and the confessors, we hold, were *not obliged to oppose them in that*. They were *glad to have carried that point*, which the Roman church most strongly defends, in which she has her being. Is this not a by far nobler vindication of their sincerity, conviction, and faithfulness than Dr. Richard's, that they interpreted it and wanted it interpreted by their opponents in the Roman sense by *not injecting* the "lapis — truncus — mere passive — subjectum patiens — subjectum convertendum theory of free-will," which was wholly unnecessary? On account of the lying Romanist endorsement the Augsburg Confession need *not* contain free-will.

Thus we have unbuttoned the historical argument, and we may take our dear Augsburg Confession and recommend it to all followers of the Lord as a sacred inheritance and faithful witness for the truth of God that *man has no free-will in divine*

matters and for spiritual works without having received the Holy Spirit through the Word. But when men like Dr. Richard put it on as a subterfuge for saying that yet something of it is left, *we must be permitted to use much stronger language*: "Longe fuge: fenum habet in cornu!"

Carroll, Nebr.

FR. SCHWARZ.

DR. MARTIN LUTHER'S TREATISE OF CONFESSION,
WHETHER THE POPE HAVE POWER
TO ENJOIN SAME.

PART SECOND.

36. I. Here we ask the pope and all his followers whence they have authority to impose confession on all Christians, and where God has commanded it. Come forth, dear friends, show document and seal of your office and render account, as St. Peter has bidden you when he said [1 Pet. 3, 15]: "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." They adduce, first, the saying of Christ, Matt. 8, 4, when He purified the leper and said: "Go thy way, show thyself to the priest, and offer the gift that Moses commanded, for a testimony unto them." Here, they say, Christ has commanded us to show ourselves to the priest, that is, we are to confess our sins secretly to the priest. And although this is such a foolish gloss that it ought to be ridiculed rather than refuted, we will serve them and take their error from them. But they must not become angry because the sheep begin to teach the shepherd, the disciples the master, the subjects their superiors. The perverted state of affairs is their fault, for they are totally perverted and wrong. If a blind man regained his eyesight and his leader remained blind, I hope the leader would justly renounce his honor and mastership or be left as a senseless fool. Neither is this inversion a new thing. David (Ps. 119, 98—100) says: "Thou

through Thy commandments hast made me wiser than mine enemies; for they are ever with me. I have more understanding than all my teachers: for Thy testimonies are my meditation. I understand more than the ancients, because I keep Thy precepts."

37. It is no wonder that the foolish who cling to God's Word become wise, and that the wise who cling to human laws become fools; therefore, the reason why we know more than the pope, bishops, cardinals, priests, and monks is this: they pass God's Word, the light of all creatures, by and crawl after the devil into human ordinances, and there is nothing but darkness. For this reason God says Hos. 4, 6 to the same perverse men: "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest to me." Thus it happens according to Ps. 18, 26: "With the froward" (Vulgate: *perverso*) "Thou wilt show Thyself froward" (Vulgate: *perverteris*).

38. II. But is it honest, to say nothing of Christianity, to build up so much misery on such an impious foundation? to impose such a tax, to cause so much terror, to practice such tyranny, such iniquity and violence? O pope, how do thy and thy followers' merits look! In the first place, you refuse to be coerced by a dark passage of Scripture, you demand that everything that is to constrain you be clear and expressed in non-figurative language, and even then you refuse to be bound by it. Why, then, do you urge us to confession with this verse which contains not a word of confession, not a word of sins, but merely says: the one purified is to show himself to the priest? Moreover, that same priest was a priest of Moses according to the old covenant and had no power to forgive sins. This power has been given solely to the new covenant together with the keys; the apostles might more properly have absolved him.

39. If you say he meant to signify confession, you must prove the signification. Another man might take it to signify something else. Figures of speech and interpretations prove

nothing, says St. Augustine. I, too, will give an interpretation that shall come nearer the point than yours, namely: There is no doubt that all figures and the entire law of Moses point to Christ, as St. Paul says Rom. 3, 21. 22. 25. Thus the priest signifies Christ, who alone is priest for us all. Now when we are purified by faith in Him, it is our duty to show ourselves to Him, that is, to confess that we in ourselves are altogether sinful, and just only by His grace. Behold, the thanks, praise, honor, and confession are signified by this allegory in which all men without exception are included: for they are all sinners before God and justified only through Christ. This is the true interpretation that emphasizes faith, not good works, Christ and not man.

40. III. So this verse has been done away with. In the second place, they bring forward the saying of Solomon, Prov. 27, 23: "Be thou diligent to know the state" (Vulgate: *vultum* = face) "of thy flocks." This they construe into a searching of the consciences that knows no end or rest; and thus they comment: *vultus* means conscience. Is that not wonderful Latin and German? *Vultus* means the heart and "to know" means to hear confession. But how, if some one would not confess or would not confess all, as it frequently happens, how will you know his *vultus*? You needs must know it if you are to satisfy the law.

41. It must be a queer God who would command things to you that are not in your power, but depend on the hidden will of another. Where has He given more such laws? Would it not be sensible, inasmuch as we have so boldly assumed the power to comment, if we inverted the verse as follows: "O flock, be thou diligent to let thy face be known," in order that the verse may aim no longer at us, but at the laity? Just as above the leper was bound to show himself, while the priest was not commanded to view all lepers, which would have been a difficult matter. Behold, on such flimsy foundations rests confession and all popery, and yet they refuse to let anyone know Scripture except themselves, thinking that their cause rests on

stronger pillars than the heavens. But they do this in order that no one may discover their coarse lies and deception. Falsehood cannot bear the light, therefore it desires to speak alone and brooks no contradiction.

42. IV. Neither are they cautious enough to consider that that confession is, as they themselves teach, a sacrament of the New Testament, that in the Old Testament there was no confession, and that Solomon himself neither did nor could confess, as no keys were given. Therefore let us hear the genuine interpretation of this verse. Solomon teaches here that each one is to take care of his worldly goods and be satisfied with them, taking heed not to have anything belonging to his neighbor, since life is short. Therefore each one is to be content and not to slave and hoard as if he would live here forever. We read as follows (Prov. 27, 23 sqq.): "Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds. For riches are not forever: and doth the crown endure to every generation? The hay appeareth and the tender grass showeth itself, and herbs of the mountains are gathered." (That is, do not worry, do not rob, be content; for grass and hay grows every day, the field is not covered, why should you worry?) "The lambs are for thy clothing, and the goats are the price of the field" (that is, sell them and with the money pay your wages, not in order to build great houses, but to till the field). "And thou shalt have goats' milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household and for the maintenance for thy maidens" (that is, produce milk, butter, and cheese, eat of it, sell it, and thus procure your maintenance).

43. Behold, thus Solomon warns us against avarice and worry and teaches us how to enjoy in a godly manner temporal goods, and we have made a confession of it! But when he speaks of the *vultus* of the flock, he means its general form and appearance. For every man knows his flock from that of another by the appearance of his flock whether it is red, white, small, large, many, or few. Such external form the Hebrew language calls "*face*," as opposed to the heart, and says that

God sees and judges by the heart and not by outward appearance, as man sees and judges [1 Sam. 16, 7].

44. V. The third passage is that of James the apostle (James 5, 16), and reads as follows: "Confess your faults one to another and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." This brings us to the New Testament. And, indeed, confession and sin is here touched upon, for he says: "Confess your faults." But he assigns us a strange confessor, namely, *alter-utrum*; the pope and his adherents do not like him at all. *Alter-utrum* means one to the other, and means us all. Consequently, the confessors must confess to the laity, and they are not the only priests, bishops, and pope, but every Christian is pope, bishop, and priest, and the pope must confess to him. Before they admit that, they give up this verse and concede that it does not speak of secret confession. And that is the truth, although they at first adduced this passage.

45. For James means this: A man who has offended God, must accuse himself before Him and confess his sins, and they shall be forgiven him; as David says Ps. 32, 6: "I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin." Just so every one ought to humble himself before his neighbor, especially if he has offended him, and to confess his sin and not to excuse himself insolently. For this does not bring peace, but is a hindrance in prayer. This James would prevent by saying: "Pray one for another, that ye may be healed." [James 5, 16.] This you cannot do unless you forgive each other, as the Lord's Prayer teaches: "Forgive us as we forgive," etc. [Matt. 6, 12.] But you cannot forgive, unless one confesses his sins to the other where-with he has offended him. Thus each one must be willing to take the fault upon himself, so that by all means peace may be maintained and prayer not impeded. Thus Christ teaches us (Matt. 5, 23. 24) to reconcile ourselves to our neighbor before bringing the gift to the altar.

46. VI. The fourth and main passage is John 20, 22. 23, where Christ breathed on His disciples and says: "Receive ye

the Holy Ghost: Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." The victory is won. Here they say: Why, if we are to remit sins, we must know them. But how can we know them unless they are told us? Here let us see what misery and sweat they bring upon themselves by this verse. If there is a verse in the Bible opposed to secret confession, it is this very one.

47. (First.) This verse says nothing of secret confession; moreover, it says nothing of public confession. And if it obliged us to confess in secret, it would oblige us to confess in public all our sins. For the pope might here just as well argue and say: If I am to remit, you must confess; but now I will not remit secretly, but publicly, and you must confess publicly. Thus our confessing would be tied fast to his remitting; and wherever he went with his remitting, our appended confession must follow. This would give him the power to reveal the secrets of all hearts, as if he were God Himself, who has reserved unto Himself to know the secrets of the hearts. But if this verse does not demand public confession, neither does it demand secret confession. Therefore it is not true that in this verse they are given authority to demand and dogmatize confession, and confession is not tied to their remission, but the contrary is true.

48. Remission is tied to confession, and remission must follow and be guided by confession. If I desire to confess secretly, you are bound to remit secretly. If I desire to confess publicly, you are bound to remit publicly. My confession is not arbitrary with you, but with me. Moreover, absolution is my privilege, not yours. I have the right and the liberty to demand it; you have no right to deny it, but are bound and forced to grant it. Thus Christ has made servants of His officers; while you invert the thing and wish to make me a servant, retaining for yourself the right and authority over my confession and absolution. Behold, this is all wrong.

49. VII. Consider if the following is not the meaning of the text. It does not say: Come and confess and go your

way, as a command to confess their sins, but: "Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them." The words contend for no more than that you are bound to remit sins to all that desire it, and you are a servant set for this purpose. But the confessant is left free and is promised absolution, so that he may use it when and how and where he chooses. If he is not willing, you are not to urge him, for no man can give or ought to give to any one without his thank and willingness. But absolution is a great gift of God. In the same manner we cannot and ought not to force anyone to believe, but can only present the Gospel earnestly and admonish every one to believe it, allowing him to choose freely whether to accept it or not. All sacraments must be free to everyone. Whosoever will not be baptized, let him go without it. Whosoever will not receive the sacrament (communion) is well within his rights. Similarly, whosoever will not confess has the right before God to refuse. Thus, you see they have forced this text to make confession compulsory, when this very text makes it free. On the other hand, they have made remission of sins free and arbitrary to themselves, when this very passage compels them to absolve. What misery must not ensue from such impious perversion of the Scripture of God, when all the world is mocked and deceived with lies and the vain fancies of men.

50. VIII. (Secondly.) But is it not a shame that such a burden has been imposed upon all mankind, although not a single clear passage can be brought forward in support of all this ado? They must make shift with such forced glosses and flimsy pretenses in such a lousy and beggarly manner, although Christ has so often and so clearly explained Baptism and Holy Communion and all things which He requires of us. And this matter of secret confession, almost the greatest thing in Christendom, is not to have a single clear text? And what shall we do for the holy fathers in the desert who do not confess, do not receive the sacrament, and know nothing of the law of the pope?

51. Moreover, in Ambrosius, Augustine, Jerome, and their compeers among the fathers nothing is found written on

this subject; which would be a strange thing considering that they have written so abundantly on all other topics of Christian religion. Someone has written a book under the name of St. Augustine *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*, which is confidently adduced in canonical law and sentences, though it belongs less to St. Augustine than to me and you. In one place he even introduced Augustine by name, and he was such a grossly ignorant fellow that he does not hesitate to propose the saying of Christ [Matt. 10, 32]: "Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven" as a reason for secret confession, and much more of the same kind. Well, it is a book for the pope and the papists, who are worth nothing better. An ass must not eat figs, but thistles. But it has done much harm and greatly strengthened confession, so that I fear its author lies in the lowest depth of hell, unless he repented earnestly.

52. IX. (Thirdly.) Moreover, they contradict each other. They say: If I am to remit or retain sins, I must know them. Those that I do not know I can neither remit nor retain, therefore we must have confession. Here I ask, What does the pope mean when he proclaims in his bulls by his apostles that he remits all sins, pain, and guilt by name, forgotten and unconscious sins, and leads the soul instantaneously¹⁾ to heaven out of hell, out of purgatory and out of all misfortune; and he cannot err as he says. One of you must lie and deceive; the pope or you. If unconscious and forgotten sins can be remitted, then there is no urgent proof in what you say: I cannot remit sins, unless I know them, and you have lost this text and confession.

53. But if your theory holds good, then the pope mocks and deceives the whole world with his remission and his leading to heaven. What will you say now? Behold, this is the result of making a dogma of human trash, and then trying to

1) *von Mund auf*, that is, as soon as he opens his mouth. See Grimm, *Woerterbuch*, art. Mund, sub 12.

strengthen it by divine Scripture. You cannot braid a beard of straw for Scripture. It quickly puts to shame all those who attempt to defile and pollute it, as the wise man says. Therefore I conclude in regard to both of you: You lie and the pope deceives, and neither of you is a safe guide. You enforce confession with false glosses, and the pope cannot remit unconscious and forgotten sins, and the truth remains and passes between you both, namely: you need know and remit only those sins that are confessed to you. Those that are not confessed to you, you need neither know nor remit.

54. X. (Fourthly.) Therefore it is not only wrong, but also a very foolish assertion when they say: Sins cannot be remitted unless they are made known to them. For this would be driving us to do an impossible thing, inasmuch as no man can know all his sins. The larger portion is reserved for God, and only of the smaller number do we become conscious, as the 19th Psalm, v. 13, says: "Who can understand his errors?" And Ps. 40, 13: "For innumerable evils have compassed me about: mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, so that I am not able to look up; they are more than the hairs of mine head: therefore my heart faileth me."

55. But if you say: We must confess those that we know after diligent introspection, I ask: How will you prove that? And where will you place the limit in order that so many simple men may know how far they must search themselves, and what sins they must confess or not confess? Who shall tell to everyone what is a venial and what a mortal sin when no doctor, no father, no saint has ever found or known or taught it? And you undertake to drive the whole multitude of the world into such uncertain labor that they never know how they stand. Do you think that Christ's Word teaches the hearts thus to sway like reeds and veer like the winds? Christ claims to be, and is called, a firm rock [Matt. 16, 18; 1 Cor. 10, 4], so that in His Word everyone may know how he stands, not swaying hither and thither as the billows on the sea that know no rest.

56. XI. But some one might say: Granted that remitting sins is not arbitrary with the priest, but that he is bound to remit whenever he is requested: what have you to say in regard to the retaining of sins? That, surely, does not rest with the sinner; he may consent or not, the priest may retain his sins and excommunicate him. I answer: I have said before that all words of retention and remission of sins in the Gospel apply no farther than to public excommunication and absolution, now called the ban. As Christ Himself, Matt. 18, 15—18, applies excommunication and absolution to such sinners as were first admonished privately, then rebuked in the presence of witnesses, and lastly accused and convicted before the multitude and congregation. This wholesome custom has been entirely lost through the fault of our tyrants and deceivers, pope and bishops with their scourgers and executioners, the officials. In these public sins it is true that the congregation or the minister, as representative of the congregation, has authority to bind the sinner even against his will, and must absolve him when he desires it. But from this it does not follow that they may search out the sin, as they wish to do. On the contrary, it follows that here also the public sin must first be exposed and known to all.

57. XII. But on the score of secret sins no one can be admonished or rebuked privately, let alone being accused and convicted publicly. Therefore there is no authority in the church to remit or retain them, but each one is free to choose whether he will admonish, rebuke, and accuse himself and confess. There is a great difference between confessing sins, and retaining or remitting sins. Christ's words deal neither with denying nor confessing, but with the retention and remission of sins that are publicly denied or confessed. Now, in order to create trouble for themselves, they would interpret confession as meaning retention. In this fashion they might urge us and reason us into committing sins, in order that they have something to retain and remit. For the reasoning is just as valid, if I argue thus: If I am to retain and remit, there

must be sin; how else can I remit or retain? Just as they regard it as good reasoning to say: If I am to retain or remit, the sin must be confessed. Consequently, as we cannot reason thus: You must retain or remit; therefore men ought to commit sin, so we cannot reason thus: You must retain or remit; therefore men ought to confess. But, contrariwise, this is valid reasoning: If anyone has committed a sin, you may retain or remit it unto him. Similarly: If anyone has confessed and revealed his sin, you may retain or remit it unto him. This is the purport of Christ's words, and nothing more.

58. XIII. My only contention is this, that confession is not to be demanded, but to be accepted. The keys must deal with sins and not with the heart and conscience; they are not to lock or unlock hearts and consciences, but heaven. They are not called keys of hearts or keys of consciences, but keys of heaven.

59. Christ did not say to Peter: I will give thee the keys of the hearts or consciences; those keys He has retained for Himself till the day of judgment as St. Paul says, Rom. 2, 16 and 1 Cor. 4, 5. But thus He says: "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," etc. And John 20 He says not: Whosoever heart ye unlock shall be unlocked; whosoever heart ye lock shall be locked, but: "Whosoever sins ye retain, they shall be retained," etc. Let sins come before you, bind or loose; you are not called upon to seek them or wrest them from men. A secular judge is also in duty bound to punish the wicked and to free the just; but that does not oblige him to know or search out all secret misdoings, but only that which comes to his notice.

60. XIV. And what need is there of so many words? If loosening and binding is so completely in their power that no sin can be forgiven without their absolution, what becomes of those they bind unjustly, who before God are surely loosed?

61. On the other hand, what does it avail those whose sins they do not and will not bind, or if they publicly remit sins which before God are retained? Therefore, does this text of

John necessarily prove that everything is loosed that they loose, and bound what they bind, as the pope and the bishops have so often presumptuously affirmed? They drivel, that whatsoever they bind is bound; and whatsoever they loose is loosed, though admitting that they often loose that which is not loose, and bind what is not bound. Hence we will rest content with this, that there are two ways of making sins known: one, by a public conviction through witnesses before the congregation, which Christ teaches Matt. 18, 15—18; this is necessary and sufficient for the keys and for ecclesiastical authority; the second comes about voluntarily and freely, without accusation and compulsion; this is the best and entirely salutary. Therefore, without being urged or compelled, it must be left to each man's free choice, and cannot be confined by human laws.

62. XV. Consequently, one must not condemn those that confess their secret sins to God alone, or to His saints, or to whomsoever they wish, and not to the priest, provided they do this in true repentance, honesty, and faith. Neither ought we to be disturbed by the terrible examples which some preachers of dreams have concocted concerning the damnation of those who had not confessed. Their purpose is to frighten the people and to drive them into their money-net. St. Paul has foretold all this, that the Antichrist would deceive the world with false signs and miracles with the help of the devil, so that now it is highly necessary to judge not according to signs, but according to the clear Scriptures of God. Abraham, Luke 16, would not grant the rich man that Lazarus, or one from the dead, be sent to his brethren, but referred them to Scripture and said [Luke 16, 29]: "They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them." And in all Scripture not much is said about revelations made by the dead, as these examples pretend. You may be convinced that if they had to give as much in confession as they take from it, they would, so far from urging you, drive you away by force.

63. XVI. But now we come to the most serious point. Before Christ gave command to remit and retain sins, He

breathed upon them and said: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them," John 20, 22. 23. Here the truth is established, that no one can forgive sins except he have the Holy Ghost. For the words lie plainly before us and yield not. It avails nothing to babble that this is an article of John Huss or Wycliffe and was condemned at Constance. It is not enough to condemn; we must have an answer. And it is not sufficient to point out to us that Matt. 23, 3 we read: "All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works." For that is said of preaching, an office for which Christ sent His apostles. He did not breathe upon them and did not yet give them the Holy Ghost, as He does here.

64. Now what has become of the keys of the pope? I think they must slip from his hands without his consent, and it must be seen that he most impiously wears them alone in his escutcheon; for here we clearly read that no one has the keys, except he have the Holy Ghost. Hence one ought to paint upon the pope's escutcheon—I know what—and expunge the keys. That escutcheon belongs to some one else than the pope. But on the other hand: If I am not to have remission of my sins, except the confessor have the Holy Ghost,—and no one can know this assuredly of another whether he have the Holy Ghost,—when would I become assured of my absolution and gain a quiet conscience? Things would remain as before.

65. XVII. My answer is this: I have brought up this point in order that people may see the real foundation of this thing. There is no doubt that sins are not retained or remitted except by him alone that has the Holy Ghost so surely that you and I may know it, as the words of Christ here prove. But this is no one else than the Christian Church, that is, the communion of all believers in Christ; it alone has these keys; of that there can be no doubt. And whosoever appropriates these keys for himself is a genuine unscrupulous *sacrilegus*, despoiler of churches, whether it be the pope or someone else. Of this church all men are sure that it have the Holy Ghost,

as St. Paul, following Christ, and all Scriptures abundantly prove, and as it is very briefly expressed in the Creed, where we say: I believe in the existence of a holy Christian Church. It is holy on account of the Holy Ghost, whom it surely has. Hence no man ought to accept the absolution of the pope or bishop, as if *they* were the ones who absolve. God defend us from the absolution of the pope and bishops of which the world is now full! It is the absolution of the devil.

66. But you must do as Christ says Matt. 10, 41: "He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward; and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward." Hence if a stone or a piece of wood could absolve me in the name of the Christian Church, I would accept it. On the other hand, if the pope were to place me into the highest choir of angels in the name of his authority, I would stop up both my ears and regard him as the greatest blasphemer. He is a servant of the keys as all other priests, and the keys belong to the Church alone. A master can allow his servant to have his coat of arms, as long as he does not claim the coat of arms to be his before the other servants and other people. Thus the Church gives the keys to the pope, and commands him to have and to use them in its name; but it does not concede them to be his property.

67. XVIII. Therefore our Creed observes this order: the article forgiveness of sins must follow the article "a holy Christian Church," and this in its turn must be preceded by: "I believe in the Holy Ghost." So that it may be known that without the Holy Ghost there is no Christian Church, and without the holy Church no forgiveness of sins. Hence it is not true that the pope have the keys. The Church alone has them, and not he; the Church alone retains and remits, and he and all priests are servants in this. From this it follows that the pope in his office is to be a servant of all servants, as he boastfully styles himself without acting up to it, so that a child in its cradle and all that have the Holy Ghost have a

better claim to the keys than he. Let this be sufficient in regard to this text.

68. Thus we have found that the pope has no authority at all to make a dogma of secret confession and to require it, and his reasons have been found false and dishonest, as St. Peter has said of him and his followers, 2 Pet. 2, 1. 3: "But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you who with feigned words shall make merchandise of you" (LUTHER: "shall deprive you of your money"). What are "feigned words" other than such unsound, worthless reasons of popish tyranny, wherewith he harms all men, deprives the world of its money, and leads all souls that follow him to the devil? It remains for us to explain (and you shall now hear) what *we* think of this text and of secret confession.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

W. H. KRUSE.

(To be concluded.)

THE PROOF TEXTS OF THE CATECHISM WITH A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY.¹⁾

(Continued.)

John 20, 17: *I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God.*

In that touching discourse with Mary Magdalene after His resurrection, Christ says among other things: "I ascend unto *my Father*, and *your Father*." The term *Father* is here applied to the first person of the Trinity, and He is said to be the Father of Christ and the Father of Christ's disciples, the true Christians. But let us observe the peculiar wording of the text. The Lord does not say: "I ascend unto *our Father*," but, "I ascend unto *my Father* and *your Father*," indicating that though we have with Christ the same Father, yet not in

1) With the present issue Prof. Weasel relieves the editor in expounding the proof texts. Regular contributions by the same author may be expected on this subject. — Ed.

the same sense. *Christ stands in a peculiar and unique relation to the Father.* God is the Father of Christ on account of the essential, most singular, and inexplicable eternal generation of the Son. Ps. 2, 7: "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten Thee." (Cf. THEOL. QUART., vol. X, p. 167.) Christ is "the Only-Begotten of the Father," John 1, 14. 18; He is the essential and co-equal Son of God, being "one with the Father," John 10, 30. "He is the Son of God, not *χάριτι*, or by grace, but *φύσει*, or by nature, John 1, 14. 18." (Quenstedt.)

The "brethren," however, to whom this message is to be communicated (cf. John 20, 17: "Go unto my *brethren*, and say to them"), the disciples of Christ, the true Christians, are through Him the adopted children of God, *χάριτι*, by grace. John 1, 12: "But as many as received Him, to them *gave* He the power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name." His disciples He taught to pray: "Our *Father*, which art in heaven."

In short, Christ born out of the essence of the Father is very God of very God; the believers, begotten "with the word of truth," James 1, 18, "born of incorruptible seed, by the Word of God," 1 Pet. 1, 23, "born of God," John 1, 13, remain men, creatures of God.

The subtle discrimination made in the text between "*my* Father and *your* Father," etc., has been observed and commented on ever since the days of the church-fathers. Augustine's terse explanation may find a place here: „Non ait, Patrem *nostrum*; aliter ergo meum, aliter vestrum; *natura* meum, *gratia* vestrum. Et, Deum meum et Deum vestrum. Neque hic dixit Deum *nostrum*; ergo et hic aliter meum, aliter vestrum. Deum meum, sub quo et Ego sum homo: Deum vestrum, inter quos et Ipsum Mediator sum." (Tract. CXXI.) "He does not say: '*Our* Father;' therefore in one sense mine, in another, yours; mine by *nature*, yours by *grace*. And, He says, '*my* God and *your* God.' Here, too, He has not said, '*our* God;' therefore also here in one sense mine, in another yours.

My God, under whom also I am as a man; *your* God, whom I reconciled to you as the Mediator between you and Him."

Mal. 2, 10: *Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us?*

In a certain sense God is the Father of all mankind. "Have we not all one *Father?*" This rhetorical question demands an answer in the affirmative. The reason for this implied assertion is given in the second interrogation which is in the nature of an explanation to the former. "Hath not one God *created* us?" Inasmuch as God *created* all mankind, He is said to be the *Father* of all.

But this universal fatherhood of God over all creatures must not be confounded with the special fatherhood over His children adopted unto Himself through Jesus Christ. As Christians we have become God's children in a sense in which not all men are His children.

If there be no other connection between God and man than the fact that God created him, this fatherhood will avail him nothing. Man, by sin, has lost the first estate into which he was created. Sin has separated him and his God. The Prodigal Son, who had wasted his substance in riotous living, full well knew that he was not worthy to be called his father's son. He was a *lost* son, until he returned penitently. Cf. Luke 15, 11 sqq. The relation in which man by nature stands to God is that in which a violator of the law, convicted of, and condemned for, his crime, stands before his sovereign. He is the object of divine displeasure. "The wrath of God abideth on him," John 3, 36. The condemnation that Christ hurls at the Jews who did not believe on Him, applies to all unbelievers: "Ye are of your *father*, the *devil*, and the lusts of your father you will do," John 8, 44. Again, in the language of Scripture: "They have corrupted themselves; their spot is not the spot of children: they are a perverse and crooked generation," Deut. 32, 5. The wicked are not spiritual children of God, but rather "children of the wicked one," Matt. 13, 38.

Who, then, are the only true children of God? Paul answers: "Ye are all the *children* of God *by faith in Christ Jesus*," Gal. 3, 26.

This distinction between the universal and the special fatherhood of God must be plainly kept in view, in order to guard against that rationalistic conception of the "all-fatherhood of God," according to which God is supposed to be a gracious God without Christ, a conception about which the lodges prate so loudly in order to mislead the unwary, and which finds expression in that meaningless jingle of phrases: "The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

Eph. 3, 14. 15: *For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.*

In these opening words of the supplication of the Apostle Paul for the congregation at Ephesus, the first person of the Trinity is spoken of as the Father in reference to His dear Son, Jesus Christ. Why He is so termed has been sufficiently expounded in a preceding passage. But God is also called Father on account of the *family* that is named of Him. This latter fact we shall endeavor to elucidate.

The phrase: "Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named," reads in the original: ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται. The point made by the apostle in these words is somewhat obscured by the English translation. In Greek there is a play upon the words πατήρ (Father) and πατριὰ (family) which cannot be reproduced in English. The Greek word πατριὰ (family) is etymologically derived from πατήρ (Father). "The relation of names expresses here a relation of facts. God is the true Father to every family, loving it and caring for it." (Voigt.) The word for *family* (πατριὰ) designates a lineage, the descendants of a common father; so a πατριὰ is a generation of children. Thus Joseph, Luke 2, 4, is described as "being of the household and *family* (πατριὰ) of David."—"From whom," ἐξ οὗ, obviously refers to the "Father (πατέρα) of our Lord Jesus Christ." Every πατριὰ,

says the text, receives its name from the *πατήρ* (Father). It is so named because it stands in close relation to the Father. The term *Father* connotates the notion *child*. A person is called a *father* because he has a child or children. Now, who are they that stand in child-relation to this heavenly Father? Who are they of whom God says: These people belong to my family, they are my children? "Ye are all the *children* of God by *faith* in Christ Jesus," Gal. 3, 26. So, then, "*every family*" does not comprise all mankind, but only the community of God's own. This explanation is in keeping with the context and is favored by the tenor of the whole epistle. (Cf. chap. 1, 9. 10.)

From the foregoing it is already patent what the endearing appellation is that the Father has bestowed upon those constituting His family. In holy wonderment over the ineffable grace of God in Christ Jesus, St. John exclaims: "Behold, what manner of love the *Father* hath bestowed upon us that we should be called the *sons*" — *τέκνα*, the *children* — "of God," 1 John 3, 1. Only they who have received the adoption of sons can cry: "Abba, Father!" (Cf. Gal. 4, 6.)

The name *Father* calls to mind all the abundant mercy God has showered upon us through His dear Son, in whom He has adopted us as His children; the name "*child of God*" contains the unspeakable blessedness of a sinner saved. "And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ," Rom. 8, 16.

Now, God has a family *in heaven*. The text says: *πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ* — every family in heaven. This expression does not only comprise the perfected saints, but primarily the "sons of God," Job 38, 4. 7, the holy angels, divided amongst themselves into various orders, such as thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, Col. 1, 16, cherubim and seraphim, Is. 6, 2. — The Father has a family *on earth*: His children collected from among all nations, kindreds, and tongues. Both the children in heaven and those on earth constitute one great family, the *ecclesia una sancta* in a wider sense.

Luther's free translation: "Der der rechte Vater ist ueber alles, was da Kinder heisst im Himmel und auf Erden," is at the same time a beautiful commentary of the text.

Gen. 1, 1: *In the beginning God created heaven and earth.*

This statement, so simple yet so sublime on account of its very simplicity, brands all the nebulous theories regarding the creation of the world of so-called scientists as falsehoods and lies.

"In the beginning *God* created heaven and earth." Incontrovertibly, then, God already existed *in the beginning*, *aye, before* the beginning of things. Besides Him there was nothing that had existence. It was He alone that inhabited eternity. "Before the mountains were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting, Thou *art* God," Ps. 90, 2.

"*In the beginning* God created heaven and earth." The phrase, "In the beginning," precludes the evolutionistic notion of the eternity of matter. This world of ours had a beginning. "Of old hast Thou laid the foundation of the earth: and the heavens are the work of Thy hands," Ps. 102, 25. In the light of these majestic dicta of Scripture, how absurd, nonsensical, and puerile are the vague mouthings of the evolutionists! Millions of ages ago, say they, the illimitable space was filled with nebulous matter. This indefinable something "gradually cooling and contracting, threw off, in obedience to mechanical and physical laws, successive rings of matter, from which subsequently, by the same laws, were produced the several planets, satellites, and other bodies of the solar system." Whence did this nebulous matter come? Who established these mechanical and physical laws? How did they work?—all of which questions we should not have the temerity to ask. It must suffice that Science has spoken. Thus God is done away with. "The *fool* hath said in his heart, There is no God." A scientist of this stripe is a *fool*.

"In the beginning God created *heaven and earth*." That was the actual beginning of this world's history, the beginning

of all things, the beginning of time. Heaven and earth were *created*. They did not arise by a process of emanation, nor were they evolved from any pre-existent primeval material. The statement simply reads: God *created* heaven and earth in the beginning. That says, when as yet there was no material existence, God brought this world into being by His almighty creative power. "He spake, and it was done; He commanded, and it stood fast," Ps. 33, 9.

From the foregoing explanation the meaning of *create* becomes patent. Prior to the *beginning* of which the text speaks God only was in existence, nothing else besides Him. God called into being this universe. How? Out of nothing. Hence to *create* means *to make out of nothing*. The word בָּרָא , *to create*, occurs about fifty times in the Old Testament and is always used in reference to God. God only can create. Everywhere it signifies a divine production, a bringing into being by God's almighty power that which had no existence before. In a few instances where בָּרָא is used, a material is not absolutely excluded, as for example in Gen. 1, 27, but the primary and proper signification of the term is *to produce something out of nothing*, as is evident from the passage under consideration, where the idea of pre-existent material is simply absurd. The making of heaven and earth is *a creation out of nothing*. By His creative word God called the things that were not into existence, $\tauὰ μὴ ὄντα$: ὡς ὄντα, Rom. 4, 17. "Things which are seen were not made of things which do appear," Hebr. 11, 3. (See Is. 42, 5; 40, 26, etc.) —

בָּרָא (*bara*) is also applied to the almighty work of Renovation. When David prays: "*Create* in me a clean heart," Ps. 51, 12, he thereby confesses his utter inability to make his heart clean. To do so is not within the power of man; it, too, is a work of divine omnipotence. This David knew from the Word of God; this he had learned by sad experience.

The Greek word corresponding to the Hebrew *bara* is κτίζω (*create*), as is evident, *e. g.*, from Col. 1, 16: "By Him were all things *created*" (ἐκτίσθη). Rom. 1, 25: "They wor-

shaped and served the *creature* (τῇ κτίσει) more than Him who *created* it" (τὸν κτίσαντα). Eph. 3, 9: "God who *created* all things (τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι) by Jesus Christ." Instances might be multiplied. The term is not only used in reference to the creation of the world, but also in regard to the new-creation in Christ. Conversion of man is, according to Scripture, a new-creation. Eph. 2, 10: "We are His workmanship, *created* (κτισθέντες) in Christ Jesus." Man, by nature, is *dead* in trespasses and sin. To bring this dead man to life spiritually is as great a miracle as to raise a dead man from the grave; it is a work requiring the same almighty creative power that produced this visible world. Conversion, too, is a *creatio ex nihilo* by the word of God. — In short, the true and original meaning of *create* in the Old and New Testaments is *to produce out of nothing by the mere power of His word*. It is a prerogative of the almighty God.

From this very first passage of the Bible we learn how vain are the imaginings of those self-styled scientists who endeavor to substitute a vapory theory of evolution for the doctrine of creation; we observe furthermore how flatly Scripture denies atheism, polytheism, pantheism, and all other cognate "isms."

On the other hand, this passage affords great consolation for the Christians. This God, who has created heaven and earth, is our dear Father in Christ Jesus. He, the Almighty, can keep us in every need. With Him all things are possible. In all confidence we can trust in His divine guidance, saying with the psalmist: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help. My help cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth," Ps. 121, 1. 2. And again: "Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth," Ps. 124, 8.²⁾

2) It may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the words "God created" in the original text read: בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים (bara Elohim), thus joining a verb in the singular number (bara) with a plural noun (Elohim).

Hebr. 11, 3: *Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear.*

In the preceding passage the *fact* of God's having created heaven and earth was stated; in this we are informed of the *manner* in which He performed the work. "The worlds were framed *ῥήματι θεοῦ*, *by the word of God.*" God said, "Let there be light!" and there was light. Through this almighty fiat of God things that did not exist before came into being. "He spake, and it was done," Ps. 33, 9. This assertion is enforced by what follows. The "things which are seen," *τὰ βλεπόμενα*, "the worlds," *τοὺς αἰῶνας*, all that exists in time, have not their being from things which appear in outward manifestation, *μὴ ἐξ φανομένων*. This says emphatically that there was no material present out of which the "things seen" could have been made; there were no earthly germs, substances, or cells pre-existent from which by the power of nature the world could have evolved. This latter clause says as plainly as language can put it that the creation of the world was a *creatio ex nihilo*, and thus it substantiates the former, which declares that the worlds sprang into existence by the omnipotent *word* of God. Luther's translation, "dass alles, was man siehet, *aus nichts* worden ist," though not literal, hits the nail on the head.

The doctrine of the creation of the world is an article of faith. "*Through faith* we understand that the worlds were framed by the *word* of God." But does not Rom. 1, 18—20 say that natural man can know of the existence of God by virtue of his reason, that he can know by the things that are made that there is a Creator? Is there a contradiction between these two passages? By no means. When contemplating nature the light of reason tells us that of itself, by accident, this world could not come into being. It must have had a rational, super-

This plural form of the noun indicates plurality *in* God, but not a plurality of Gods. The verb in the singular indicates that the Creator of heaven and earth is *one* God.

natural, wise, divine author. Further than this, however, reason cannot argue. *How* this universe was made reason cannot fathom. That it was made by the *word* of God reason cannot know. Reason says: *Ex nihilo nihil fit!* There must have been a matter from which the world was made. Therefore the text says: "*Through faith* we understand that the worlds were framed *by the word of God.*" Through what faith do we understand this? Through faith in the Word of God as it is recorded in Gen. 1, Ps. 104, and other passages which treat of this matter. This word is God's word, therefore true. This we believe, upon this we rely, and are thus divinely certain as to how this world was created, all the vain babblings of science falsely so-called to the contrary notwithstanding. Scientists are fallible men; God, who speaks in the Scriptures, is infallible. He, the Creator, knows more about His handiwork than all the geologists and germ theorists put in a heap. Where the statements of scientists and those of the Bible clash, the Bible must prevail, because it is the absolute truth from Genesis to Revelation.

Ps. 115, 3: *Our God is in the heavens: He hath done whatsoever He hath pleased.*

This passage is a mighty weapon in the hands of the believers, with which to put to flight all reproaches of unbelievers, scoffers, and blind reason. When questions are asked such as these: "How is it possible? How can these things be?" we answer in the words of Scripture recorded above. The text points out the omnipotence and sovereign majesty of God. "Our God is *in the heavens*:" that is the seat of His power and glory. He is not a man-made, impotent idol (cf. context), but the *almighty* God: "He hath done whatsoever He hath pleased."

Springfield, Ill.

LOUIS WESSEL.

(To be continued.)

JOHN WICLIF.¹⁾

AUTHORITIES: — Lorimer's *Lechler's Wiclif*; Buddensieg's *Wiclif*; Buddensieg's *Johann Wiclif u. s. Zeit*; Sergeant's *Wiclif*; Holt's *Wiclif*; Matthew's *Wiclif*; Loserth's *Wiclif and Hus*; Poole's *Wiclif and Movements for Reform*; Trevelyan's *England in the Age of Wiclif*; Capes' *English Church in the 14th Century*; Brougham's *Wiclif in Old England's Worthies*; Green's *History of the English People*; Burrow's *Wiclif's Place in History*; Tulloch's *Leaders of the Reformation*; Sample's *Beacon Lights of the Reformation*; Lord's *Beacon Lights of History*; Storrs' *Oration on Wiclif*; *Dictionary of National Biography*; Wiclif's Bible, ed. Forshall and Madden; Pattison's *History of the English Bible*; Smyth's *How We Got Our Bible*; *British Quarterly Review*, October, 1858; *The Academy*, June 28, 1884; *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1902; *English Historical Review*, 1900; *International Encyclopedia*; *Encyclopedia Americana*; Patrick's *Lutterworth* and Lach-Szyrma's *Wiclif* in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 1901; Shirley's *Catalogue of the Original Works of Wiclif*; Thompson's *Wiclif Exhibition in the British Museum*; Leeds' *Wiclif's Anti-War Views*; Wilson's *Wiclif*; Bishop Hurst's *Church History*.

I. THE SCHOLAR.

John Wiclif was born between 1320 and 1330 in the parish of Wycliffe on the river Tees near Richmond in Yorkshire, England, in the beautiful country made famous by Sir Walter Scott in his *Rokeby*.

He sprang from an old and honored family of the lower nobility, and it is possible that he was the legal lord of the manor of Wycliffe and patron of the rectory. He came of Saxon stock which retained many of the German traits; to this very day the people of Yorkshire "speak an ancient dialect, which bears an unmistakable German impress." As late as 1884 Wiclif's Testament was read to an old lady there, and she understood every word, saying everybody spoke that way when she was a young girl, "before folk got so fine."

Egglesstone Abbey, not far away, was then in a flourishing state, and likely the lad went to school there. Later he went to

1) There are about sixty ways of spelling the name; this form was adopted by the writer, 1. because it is the simplest; 2. because the best biographers of Germany and England use it; 3. because in the first public and in the first official documents this form is found.

Oxford and likely entered Balliol College, founded by the Balliols of Barnard Castle, not far from Wiclif's home.

Coming from the North, he joined the "Nation" of the "Boreales," a student society upholding Saxondom over against the Normans, the rights of the people over against the king, the rights of England over against the Pope, Realism over against Nominalism: in everything opposed to the "Australes" of Merton College.

For four years he studied the "Trivium"—Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, and became a Bachelor of Arts; for three more years he studied the "Quadrivium"—Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astronomy, and became a Master of Arts. Having served seven years for the Leah of the seven liberal arts, he served seven more years for the Rachel of theology and became a Bachelor of Theology and lectured on the Sentences of Peter of Novara the Lombard; after three more years of the study of the Latin Bible he became a Licentiate and lectured on one of the canonical books.

Aside from his regular studies he read in Optics, Acoustics, Physics, Chemistry, Roman Civil Law, Papal Canon Law, the old Saxon Law, and English History. He was a student of the writings of Augustine, Jerome, Aristotle, and made large use of the sermons of Chrysostom. From Thomas Bradwardine, the Doctor Profundus, he drew his doctrine of grace and predestination; from Fitz Ralph Armachanus he learned his views of Dominion; from William of Occam he derived his doctrine of the Lord's Supper; from Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln he found how to attack pluralities and the abuse of papal power; from Marsiglio of Padua, "of damned memory," he learned to demand that the Church be confined to her spiritual province, as Dante had done fifty years before, and to attack "the Caesarean clergy" and "the imperialized church," as Wiclif calls them. In addition to all this he held his idea of man's direct relation to God.

Wiclif never learned Greek, but he was a close student of the Latin Bible.

About 1360 the Fellows honored Wiclif by electing him Master of Balliol, and on May 16, 1361, his college presented him with the living of Fyllingham in Lincolnshire, about ten miles from London, worth thirty marks a year. He resigned his position as the head of the College and became a country parson, but much of his time was spent at the University, a vicar doing the parish work. From 1363 to 1365 he was at Oxford, living in rented rooms in the new Queen's College; in 1368 he got leave from his bishop to study at Oxford for two years. About 1366 (?) he received the crown of academic honors, the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and he was known as the "Doctor Evangelicus," the Gospel Doctor, as Luther loved to call himself a Doctor of the Scripture.

In order to train good men to reform the abuses in the Church, Archbishop Simon Islip, in 1361, founded Canterbury Hall for twelve students, and after removing the first Warden, Woodhall, made Wiclif the head on December 9, 1365, and in the following words: "Simon Islip to his dear son, Master John de Wycliffe: Having regard to your praiseworthy life, honorable conversation, and the literary acquirement in arts, and being assured of your truth, prudence, and carefulness, we commit to you the Wardenship."

On March 31, 1367, the new Archbishop Langham, himself a monk, ousted Wiclif and filled Canterbury Hall with monks from Christ Church, and thus overturned the will of the founder.

With splendid courage Wiclif protested against the crying injustice to the founder of Canterbury Hall, and he appealed to the Pope against the powerful head of the English Church. Archbishop Langham, now Cardinal, went to Rome, and as a monk got the monk Urban V to side with the monks against Wiclif and the dead Archbishop Islip. For a heavy bribe of 200 marks the King, in 1372, sustained the Pope, and the whole scandalous proceedings filled Wiclif with great indignation. Canterbury Hall was later merged with Cardinal Wol-

sey's Christ Church College, the most magnificent and wealthy of all colleges at Oxford.

In order to be nearer his beloved University, Wiclif, in November, 1368, resigned Fyllingham and became rector of Ludgershall in Buckinghamshire, twenty miles from Oxford, although it gave him a smaller income.

About 1365 the country parson was made "a peculiar cleric of the king," likely a Royal Chaplain, and he gained influence at court. He also preached in the London pulpits and made a deep impression on the nobles and on the citizens.

On April 7, 1374, the crown gave to Wiclif the parish of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, seven miles from Rugby. The place was a small market town on a gentle rise in a flat district of rich pasture land. It boasted of a petrifying spring, a cage for evildoers, a cucking-stool for scolds, and a parish cat-o'-nine-tails. During this period Wiclif wrote his works on philosophy and logic, he preached often before the University, and engaged in many academic disputations. As a Bachelor of Divinity he lectured on Biblical Theology, as Master of Balliol on Philosophy, as Warden of Canterbury Hall on Scholastic Divinity.

Owing to the disastrous wars of France, the leading place once held by the University of Paris passed to Oxford, and in the golden age of Oxford Wiclif was the shining light, the "Flower of Oxford scholarship," and Oxford basked in the glory of the latest and greatest of her sons, and his fame spread far and wide, and students from all parts of Great Britain and even from the continent flocked to Oxford. Before the Plague there came as many as 30,000 students "to learn bad Latin and worse Logic," as Hume sneers. Most of them begged their bread, and many slept in the holes of the city walls.

Writing to Pope Martin V the learned Netter of Walden, confessor of Henry V, a bitter opponent of Wiclif, was "wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the authorities which he had assembled, and with the vehemence and force of his reasons." Henry Knyghton, Canon of Leices-

ter, though vehemently opposed to Wiclif, yet says, "He was the most eminent doctor of theology in those days; in philosophy he was second to none; in scholastics incomparable; transcending all in subtlety of mind and depth of thought; by the great mass of theologians he was considered almost like a god."

II. THE PATRIOT.

Hard pressed by his subjects, King John Lackland on May 15, 1213, at Dover formally resigned the crowns of England and Ireland into the hands of Pandulf, and received them again as the Pope's feudatory, as if England had been the property of Innocent III, and, in return, promised a yearly rent of 1000 marks. Since the death of Pope John XXII, in 1334, no tribute was paid; Benedict XII indeed demanded it, but it was refused. In June, 1357, three cardinals came to England and asked for Pope Urban V the 1000 marks tribute, 700 for England and 300 for Ireland, and also the arrears for about thirty years, or else that Edward III present himself in person before the Pope as feudal superior and answer for his doings.

This was not a good time to make such demands on England. In 1346 Edward III won the glorious victory at Crécy in which his sixteen year old son, the Black Prince, killed the King of Bohemia, and, in 1356, the dazzling courage of the same Black Prince won the brilliant victory of Poitiers, in which King John of France was captured, and after the utter collapse of the French arms the Peace of Bretigny, in 1360, gave to England the fairest provinces of France, about one third of the whole kingdom. In addition Edward's old enemy, King David Bruce of Scotland, was a prisoner in England, and King Peter of Cyprus and the King of Denmark were in England imploring Edward's help in a crusade against the victorious Turk who had captured Adrianople. England was in the height of glory and power.

The popes were living in the "Babylonian Captivity" at Avignon and were the creatures of the French king, and France

had been vanquished in two glorious victories, and now to pay tribute as vassals of the Pope, who was a vassal of France, was more than English pride could endure about this time.

The Pope threatened to bring suit against the King, and in May, 1366, Edward III turned the Pope's demands over to Parliament. Parliament held that John had violated his coronation oath in receiving England from the Pope without consent of the English people; payment of tribute was refused; resistance was threatened, if need be, with all the might of England.

At this time Wiclif was Warden of Canterbury Hall and likely one of the six Masters of Arts called to Parliament by royal order, perhaps as a special royal commissioner, and as such he seems to have taken a leading part in the discussion and decision of Parliament. At any rate, an unknown monkish doctor of theology passionately defends the papal claims and calls upon Wiclif by name to disprove the monk's arguments.

In 1366 Wiclif replied to this "Mixtim Theologus" in the "Determination on Dominion," edited by Dr. R. L. Poole of Oxford, and held, 1. that the King rightly took away church endowments if the clergy abused their trust; 2. that clerical criminals were subject to the law of the land; 3. that the King rightly, for various reasons, refused tribute to the Pope, who emptied the pockets of the English people, even for the benefit of their French foes. By this spirited defense of England against the arrogant papal demands Wiclif became a national character and a popular man, the leader of a national movement against the Pope's political plans; clearly he must have been a man of affairs and a man of address. This work reminds us of Luther's writing "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation."

In the Parliament of February, 1371, the King needed 50,000 marks to carry on the war. Though the clergy had hitherto gone free, they were now taxed to help carry on the war; probably a result of Wiclif's writing. A Benedictine preached against this measure, and Wiclif defended it in his

"Civil Dominion," about 1372, edited by R. L. Poole. In this same Parliament the Commons asked that the clergy be dismissed from the high political offices, and that these be filled with laymen; the people wanted to be rid of papal government and have responsible ministers. This was also in line with Wiclif's teaching.

In sheer self-defense Parliament had to pass statutes of Mortmain, whereby the clergy were prohibited from grabbing any more land from dying Englishmen. In 1350 the statute of Provisors forbade the "Bishop of Rome" to give English church offices to "aliens who never dwell in England, and to cardinals who might not dwell there," and in general to interfere with the rights of those who had the giving of these livings and the election of bishops. In 1360 a man unable to read was made a bishop.

In 1353 another forward step in the fight against Rome's grasping greed was taken in the statute of Praemunire, which punished all those pleading in the court of the Roman bishop with forfeiture, outlawry, and imprisonment. The Pope's greed for English gold was not curbed by these laws, and, in 1374, on Lancaster's recommendation Wiclif was sent as one of the ambassadors to Bruges, the great and wealthy city of 200,000 inhabitants in Flanders, to treat with the delegates of Pope Gregory XI about the great grievances England had against the Pope for taking heavy bribes for appointing foreigners to the fat places in the English churches and letting absentees do nothing at all to earn their large salaries. Wiclif was gone from July 27 till September 14; his allowance was 20 shillings a day and expenses. For his labors at Bruges he was rewarded by the crown in November, 1375, with the sinecure Prebend of Aust in the Cathedral of Westbury in Worcester, but he declined it; his bitterest enemies never accused him of grasping worldly goods. William of Wykeham, Wiclif's opponent, was the King's private secretary and had twelve church livings and, of course, attended to none, although Pope Martin V, in the bull of May, 1365, had censured pluralities.

Heedless of English protests, the Pope went on merrily with his simony, selling good places for good money. He even had a collector traveling about with servants and six horses sending him about 20,000 good English marks every year; as if to add insult to injury, this collector of papal money was a hated and despised Frenchman, Arnold Garnier. The Pope's income from England was about five times that of the King. England's gorge rose, and, in 1376, the "Good" Parliament, of which Wiclif was probably a member, voiced the rising indignation in tones of thunder. "The brokers of the sinful city of Avignon promote for money unlearned and unworthy caitiffs to benefices of the value of a thousand marks, while the poor and learned hardly obtain one of twenty. So decays sound learning. They present aliens who neither see nor care to see their parishioners, despise God's services, convey away the treasure of the realm, and are worse than Jews or Saracens. The Pope's revenue from England alone is larger than that of any prince in Christendom. God gave His sheep to be pastured, not to be shaven and shorn."

The Pope's grasping greed for gold, everywhere seen, kindled the Reformer's keenest indignation. "Though our realm had a huge hill of gold," he said, "and never another man took therefrom but only this proud worldly priest-collector, in process of time the hill would be spent; for he is ever taking money out of our land, and rendering nothing back but God's curse for his simony, and some accursed clerk of Antichrist to rob the land more for wrongful privilege, or else leave to do God's will, which men should do without his leave." The Roman bishop who accepted the endowed protection of Constantine he considered to have introduced corruption into the church, and he boldly and passionately called upon King and Parliament to withdraw the temporal property of the church, and restore it to the early condition of Gospel purity and usefulness; for "by reducing the clergy to meekness and useful piety and ghostly travail, as lived Christ and His apostles, sin should be destroyed and holiness of life brought in and secular law

strengthened and the poor communion aided and good government, both spiritual and temporal, come again; and, what is best of all, as Christ's word would run to and fro freely everywhere, many men would wing their way to heaven."

It was Wiclif that, in 1377, attacked Arnold Garnier for violating all the oaths he took on coming to England to collect for the Pope, and thus again championed the cause of England against the Pope's corruption and tyranny, and he grew in importance and prominence as the dispute wore on.

What the journey to Rome was to do for Luther, the brief trip to Bruges did for Wiclif: it opened his eyes more widely to the corruption of the papacy. Ere this Wiclif had looked upon the Pope as a person who was only capable of wrongdoing,—a very bold saying in those days,—but now he looked upon the Pope as one actually guilty of wrongdoing.

The monk of St. Albans in his "Chronicon Angliae" says Wiclif "was an eloquent man" and preached "with great success," going from church to church, seducing many great lords of the land and many citizens of London. Some of his "crazy lies" were that the Pope had no right to excommunicate, and that no one had a right to present the church with anything in perpetuity, for God is the real owner of all things in Church and State, and all officers are not for lordship but for service.

Needless to say, sentiments like these could not for long pass without notice. At last the bishops goaded the unwilling Archbishop Sudbury to summon Wiclif to be examined as to his opinions, for "barking against the Church."

Milwaukee, Wis.

W. DALLMANN.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEW.

HANDBUCH DER DEUTSCHEN NATIONALLITERATUR von ihren ersten Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Zum Gebrauch fuer den Unterricht in den oberen Klassen hoeherer Lehranstalten, sowie zum Selbstunterricht bearbeitet von *Otto Hattstaedt*, Professor am Concordia-Gymnasium zu Milwaukee, Wis. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1906. XV and 512 pages. Price, \$1.75.

The subject-matter of this book is secular, not religious. However, it would be rash to say on that account that the book is a secular book and that the publishing house which has issued it has in this instance departed from its specific usage. If anyone wishes to estimate correctly the great value of this book, he must regard it as a religious book and while reading it place himself in the position which the author occupied in its painstaking construction. American church institutions reared on the confessional basis of the Evangelical Lutheran Church are to be served by this book. Accordingly, the author has been restricted in two distinct ways in making his selections from the wealth of the productions of the national literature of Germany: he has been restricted as regards the quality and the quantity of his selections. As regards the former restriction, the German infidel has been barred from this book. Not that the authors represented in this book are all believing Lutherans, — for we find Lessing, Goethe, Schiller represented, — but no author has been permitted to speak his infidel, materialistic views to the readers of this book. As regards the latter restriction, the limited time devoted to the study of German literature in our bilingual colleges necessitated that notice be taken only of the prominent authors and their most important works. It was natural for the reviewer, and it will be natural for our readers, to compare Prof. Hattstaedt's book with the text-book in use in our college days at Ft. Wayne. A comparison of this kind shows the practical working of the principle adopted by our author. The difference between Hattstaedt and Viehoff is very great indeed, both in what either offers and in what he does not offer. To begin with, the grand total of 179 authors which Viehoff introduces by means of 716 selections, from Haller to Klaus Groth and Gottschall, has been reduced to 85 authors in Hattstaedt represented by 362 selections. Within this period Hattstaedt and Viehoff have only 144 selections in common; 218 selections, or about

two-thirds of the matter in this section, have been specially made for this book. Hence, Prof. Hattstaedt's book is by no means a mere abridgment of Viehoff or similar handbooks which have been in use in the schools. This fact appears still more strikingly when we note the importance which either author attaches to particular writers. Viehoff's selections, of course, are much in excess, as a rule, of Hattstaedt's; still 23 authors common to both have been represented in Hattstaedt by 54 selections more than the same authors have been accorded in Viehoff. Lastly, Hattstaedt is more up-to-date than the twelfth edition of Viehoff. 28 modern authors not treated by Viehoff are represented in Hattstaedt by 68 selections. Among them we find names like Schlosser, Hauff, Marheineke, Grillparzer, Klaus Harms, Caspari, Ahlfeld, Walther, Scheffel, Heyse, Dahn, Curtius, Mommsen, Moltke, Bismarck, Freytag, Bettex, Reuter.—The process of elimination has been vigorously applied for the reasons stated above. And it has been applied fairly. If we choose Heine, merely for convenience' sake, as a dividing line between Haller and the most recent of the writers represented in Viehoff, we find that Prof. Hattstaedt has dropped from Viehoff's array 46 authors earlier and 49 authors later than Heine. Naturally, the individual German has his favorites among the authors of his nation, and accordingly widely divergent wishes would probably be presented by different persons as to what should have been embodied in this book and what not. It is plain that the author could not possibly have met these wishes. We are satisfied that he has proceeded without partiality. None of the authors eliminated is of such importance, considering the limitations under which the author worked, that his absence would mar the effect of the whole. All points considered, we believe that the student who is guided by this handbook will obtain a view of the national literature of Germany sufficiently wide as regards extent and range, and sufficiently exact and minute as regards details.—The averages quoted for the period following Haller apply equally to the period prior to this writer.—Prose and poetry have not been treated in separate parts of the book, as in Viehoff, but each of the respective writers has been exhibited in his place by selections in either form.—The introductory remarks, historical and philological, at the heads of periods are plain and pointed. The growth and development of German literature, the various influences which have affected it from within or without, are correctly shown. The biographical notes are brief and concise. Appendix I is devoted to poetic productions in the leading German dialects. Appendix II treats the German adage. Appendix III is a brief sketch of prosody

in which the author follows the text-books of Cremer, Sommert, Lange, and others.—The index answers its purpose well.

What interests us more than the material make-up of the book is its spirit. That twenty pages of well-chosen matter have been devoted to Luther we regard not only as an act of courtesy to the prospective readers of this book, but as an act of justice to an author without whose labors the second golden age of German literature cannot be conceived of. Had Luther's lead been followed by German literates, the second golden age of the literature of Germany would have come earlier than it did. But it is quite congenial to us to find Klopstock's *Messias* placed at the head of this period rather than his *Wingolf*, and to see Herder's verdict ("The *Messias* is the first classical book in our language since Luther's translation of the Bible") endorsed. We cite Prof. Hattstaedt's opinions of the leading German authors. Of Wieland he says: "From a pious enthusiast he became transformed into an advocate of the gratification of the sensual instincts. Accordingly, not much can be said in favor of his numerous writings. Far too often they are in a frivolous, light vein and have proved a veritable poison to thousands." (p. 133.) Voss' *Louise* is pronounced a rationalistic product. (p. 138.) The cheerful, soulful manner of Claudius, his popular style and refreshing humor are praised, and his *Chria* is offered among the selections. (p. 150.) Lessing's influence as critic is fully acknowledged, but his hostile attitude over and against Christianity is also shown. "Lessing has gained ill repute for himself in all Christian circles by his 'theological writings' falsely so called. The occasion for them arose when he had published the *Fragments of Anonymus*, an infidel production containing fierce attacks upon Christianity, denying the possibility of a divine revelation and claiming sole recognition for a shallow rationalistic form of religion. . . . In this manner Lessing as an enemy of true Christianity has sown much evil seed which is bearing fruit even in our time." (p. 153.) Herder's *Letters for the Promotion of Humanity* the author regards as "a sorry testimony for his religious position. By means of them Herder is revealed as an apostle of 'humanity.' Being a full-fledged rationalist, to whom the biblical doctrine of the original depravity of the human race and the need of redemption and reconciliation with God, also of regeneration and renewal, remained sealed mysteries, Herder understands by 'humanity' the development by the natural powers in man of that happy disposition to attain perfection which is innate in man. Gervinus is correct in stating that Herder has arrayed the concept of humanity against that of Christianity. In his *Ideas* he combated

purposely the pride which he assumed in Christians, claiming that it caused them to make 'their world the center of the universe.' His tendency was toward a universal religion, a form of Christianity modeled after Christ, 'the darling of Jehovah,' 'the simple, pure, ideal man.' Christianity in his view was nothing more than a conscientious performance of every duty, human benevolence, philanthropy, in a word, a humanitarian religion." (p. 168.) The greatness and manysidedness of Goethe are fully exhibited by characteristic productions, covering seventeen pages. Our author adds this verdict to his biographical note: "It is a pity that Goethe has wasted his magnificent gifts also upon unworthy subjects. While the splendor and truth of his productions are admirable, and the euphony and simplicity of his diction are glorious, his subject-matter is often repulsive, because it is foul. And it is just as great a pity that in some of his most famous writings there is revealed a spirit of self-glorification which derides the humility and self-abasement of Christians. Accordingly, his *Faust*, e. g., can never satisfy us, because the hero in this drama does not choose the way of repentance for the canceling of his guilt. Goethe in a letter to Lavater has termed himself a 'determined non-christian.' Being such, he was, of course, disinclined to regard repentance as the only way of atonement. Goethe was a pantheist. He refused to acknowledge the triune God. He worshiped in nature, 'all-creating, ever-working nature,' the god to whom he felt himself obligated for everything. Accordingly, the main principle of his life was 'to enjoy life, not scrupling about eternity and God.' However, he confessed towards the close of his life that he had failed to find satisfaction in his gospel of nature; for he stated: 'I can honestly say that during the seventy-five years of my life I have hardly found true gratification for four weeks. My life has been the ceaseless pushing of a stone which had to be lifted again and again.'" (p. 181.) From the author's remarks regarding Schiller we quote the following: "Schiller was the poet of the ideal. Full of enthusiasm for 'the true, the good, and the beautiful,' which he failed to find in a barren world 'ruled by a merciless fate,' he created for himself a world of sublime ideals in accordance with his notions of right, liberty, and morality, and to model life after these ideals he regarded as the mission of art, especially of poetry. No doubt, by his enthusiasm he exerted a powerful influence upon the nation, especially upon young minds. However, since the force by which he endeavored to improve the world was not God's Word but art, it is just as undoubtedly true that he contributed nothing to the true advancement of the nation. Nor did

art bring him personal happiness or give him peace at heart; for Christian faith remained a mystery to him. The divine revelation he considered an impossibility, and hence he saw in Christianity nothing but the exhibition of a 'beautiful sort of morality.' 'Viewed thus,' he writes in a letter to Goethe, August 17, 1795, 'Christianity is the only aesthetic religion, and hence I can understand why this religion meets with so much success among women and is still found to exist only in them in a somewhat tolerable form.'" (p. 200.) We have not the space to extend our account of these details. As a matter of interest we wish to report that Walther is represented by a portion of a sermon on the miracles of Jesus, and Broemel's well-known opinion of Walther is quoted in the biographical note.—In making his selections Prof. Hattstaedt has, as far as practicable, avoided the realm of pure fancy. He prefers the realm of reality. The historical romance, the ballad, the epic, the epigram, are justly favored in this book. The lyrics offered are chaste and elevating. The prose selections have been made with a view to increase the student's stock of general knowledge while exhibiting to him what there is of true art in the written thought of Germany's best authors.

Prof. Hattstaedt has undertaken a task which, as far as we know, has not been approached by any one before him. A new way had to be blazed through a forest, as it were,—a way which would lead the traveler to the most advantageous points from which to view the beauties of German poetry and prose. It has been a laborious undertaking, entailing constant, patient application, careful, critical weighing and reweighing of a thousand nice points, and an evenly maintained effort to say all that must be said without saying too much. This task has been performed in a manner to bring credit both to the author and the publisher. Though not a theological work, this handbook of Prof. Hattstaedt easily takes a high rank among the products of our Concordia press during the year just closed. Its mission is limited to a smaller circle of individuals than that of many other books issued with our trademark, but it is just as important as the study in the curricula of our colleges which it strives to serve. Moreover, it offers delightful reading-matter to the average reader of literature, and to the person who wishes to inform himself on the subject of German literature it will prove a very acceptable guide by its many explanatory footnotes. In every way we are pleased with this handbook and wish it large and increasing success. May it be the precursor of similar text-books on other branches of study pursued in our colleges, by equally competent authors.

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE AND THE GENERAL COUNCIL? Second Edition. By *William Dallmann*.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE UNCHRISTIAN. By *William Dallmann*. Third Edition. Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis. Price, 5 cents the copy, or \$1.00 the hundred for each tract.

Sound Scriptural argument, telling documentary evidence, well grouped and forcibly applied, and a plain and pointed diction render these two little tracts very valuable. No person with a conscience, after reading them, can affiliate with either body named in the above titles, and be at peace with himself.

THE ABBRIDGED TREASURY OF PRAYERS. An Epitome from the Larger "Gebets-Schatz" Published by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo. American Lutheran Publication Board, Pittsburg, Pa. 179 pp. 12mo. Price: @ 30 cts.; dozen, @ 25 cts.; hundred, @ 23 cts.

This book contains 103 prayers, 7 preparatory, 16 for morning and evening devotion, 20 for use on festival days, 9 for various needs in domestic life, and the remainder covering a variety of ordinary and extraordinary situations in all ages, various occupations, relations, seasons, and afflictions. Eight standard hymns and a Form for Emergency Baptism have been appended. Luther, Curbach, and the Marburg Hymnal, are the authors favored mostly in this selection. The contents of these prayers are well known in our circles. The new garb in which these old friends appear fits them well. We welcome them heartily.

A CHURCH HISTORY FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, by *Nils Loevgren*, Bishop of Vesteras. With a Series of Biographies by *August Edman*, Adjunct at Lulea "H. Allm. Laeroverk." Translated by *M. Wahlstroem* and *C. W. Foss*. Rock Island, Ill. Augustana Book Concern. 358 pp. Price, \$1.50.

This book will be taken up with delight; it will be read with increasing interest; and it will be laid aside with regret. It pos-

sesses many good qualities, so that it gives one pain to be forced to say, in the end, that it is insufficient, because it is sadly deficient in the one essential of a good history: sound judgment and fairness. This deplorable defect appears most glaringly in that section of the book which should render it most valuable to the narrower circle of its prospective readers, the Lutherans. The chapter on the Lutheran Church in America, in particular, is so manifestly partisan that we would seriously propose, in the interest of future purchasers of the book, that its title-page be amended to read: "A Church History for the Use of Swedish Schools and Colleges within the General Council of the Lutheran Church of America." As it reads now, the title fits the contents about as well as a No. 8 hat would fit a No. 6 head.

Writing the story of the Church for the benefit of our academic youths below the university grade is a task worthy of a genius. As to its contents, we imagine a book of this kind should be constructed on the eclectic plan: each age should be exhibited in its characteristic features and prominent actors. The book should aim at being perfect without striving to be complete. It should relate not all that can be said, but only what must be said to the beginner in this branch of study. The entire historical panorama should be brought within confines to be easily encompassed by a youthful mind. A very simple plan should be adopted. The historical matter should not be divided up among a bewildering multitude of eras, epochs, periods, phases, etc. The development of the Church might be shown in the three aspects of Formation, Deformation, and Reformation. Under the first head the series of marvelous events would be related, which began with the tale of shepherds in Judea in the reign of Herod the Great and ended with the overthrow of paganism in cultured Europe, Asia, and Africa. Here we behold the planting of the mustard seed; we witness the revolt of the kings of the earth against the Lord's Anointed; we see the mystical body of Christ undergoing the same fate as His natural body: the Church stands before us as an object of universal scorn; she is lashed until she is bleeding from a thousand wounds; she is despised and rejected by men; she is beset by the heathen from without and false brethren from within, yet she rises triumphant from the sands of the arena and the ashes of the pyre, even as her Lord had burst the bonds of death. And finally, we behold her conquering the Roman's love of might by the Christian's might of love. The proud Caesar bends before the pale Galilean, penitent but glad at his own defeat. At the same time, a still mightier struggle is going on within the Church: the war of words, the battle of ideas, the fierce conflict of error with

truth. The serpent has entered Eden again, whispering: "Yea, hath God said?" The Church is locked in deadly struggle with the arch-liar who is conjuring up against her the Montanist, the Donatist, the Monarchian, the Gnostic, the Manichean, the Arian. She suffers the bruising of her heel, but she crushes the serpent's head. She comes out of every controversy purer as to the *fides quae creditur* and surer as to the *fides qua creditur*. Silently, slowly, steadily, she develops her magnificent resources; her many-sided activities assume definite shape and form. Christian church-life is beginning to leaven the nations. The Church has been established. And then the view changes. A new era has begun. Across the face of this era there is written in all directions the one word ROME. It is Rome at the altar swinging the censer, Rome in the panoply of war storming trenches and steeping her hands in gore, Rome in the councils of kings, Rome in the halls of the guilds, Rome in the booth of the trader at a town-fair, Rome in the judge's seat, Rome in the professor's chair, Rome receiving ambassadors from, and dispatching nuntios to, foreign courts, Rome dictating treaties to nations and arranging the cook's menu, Rome labeling the huckster's cart and the vintner's crop, Rome levying a tax upon the nuptial bed, Rome exacting toll at the gate of heaven. And first it is Rome conquered, next Rome conquering, that is exhibited to our gaze. From the northern fastnesses of Europe and across its eastern steppes there rolls in upon the wealthy, proud, and refined peoples that fringe the Mediterranean a huge tidal wave of barbarism. The ancient civilization goes down before it. The sun of imperial Rome sets amid a tempest. And the wreck of the state seems to involve the ruin of the Church. A Roman bishop is a suppliant before a barbaric chieftain. But silently, shrewdly vanquished Rome, in the holy garb of a priest, sets to work to regain the power of her Caesars. Out of the wreck of imperial Rome rises papal Rome. Once more, though through different agents, the city of the seven hills is ruling an *orbis terrarum Romanus*. The rule extends through nearly a thousand years. How deftly do cunning priests manipulate every means to increase their power! Learning, wealth, beauty, art, piety,—everything is used as an asset in the ambitious game for absolute supremacy which the mitred vicegerent of Christ is playing against the world. Rome's ancient *pontifex maximus* had been a tool of the consuls and the Caesars; the new pontiff makes the Caesars his tools. Princes kiss his feet and hold the stirrup for him as he mounts his bedizened palfrey. An emperor stands barefoot in the snow of the pope's court-yard suing pardon for having dared to govern without

the pope's sanction. The forests of Germany are reverberating with the blows of axes which Rome's missionaries wield against Donar's oaks. The sanctuaries of pagan Germany are razed. Out of the wood of idols crosses are erected along the highways. Chapels and abbeys and cathedrals rise where the aurochs was hunted. Sturdy barbarians bend the knee at the shrines of saints. Hosts set out to see the land where the Lord had walked and suffered, and brave all dangers and hardships to wrest its possession from infidel hands. But at the place where all these activities center and whence they are being fed a shocking abomination is seen: Venus is worshiped, and Bacchus, and Mercurius, and Mars, while white-robed choirs chant praises to the mother of God, and clouds of incense are wafted skyward. Here is a mystery—a mystery of iniquity: the son of perdition in the temple of God! Proud, haughty Rome,—wealthy, wicked and wanton,—is filling up the measure of her wrath against the day of retribution.—Once more the view changes: Antichrist is assailed by a poor, unknown monk in far-away Saxony. "Who minds a monk? 'Tis nothing!" But lo, the monk towers like a giant, and German paladins are by his side, while a nation hangs on his lips. Tidings of great joy are again spread, from an obscure borough on the banks of the Elbe. They are borne on the wings of the wind. Now they talk about them in London, now at the headwaters of the Rhine, now in the streets of Jerusalem. Men, women, youths, are fearlessly giving the lie to priests whom they had loathed but dreaded before. Startled Rome is placed on the defensive. She is trying her gainsayers, and seems to be unaware that, in reality, she is being tried. She exhausts her power in the effort to suppress the new teaching, which is the old truth that had conquered the world once before. All to no avail. "She's judged. The deed is done." The Lord has smitten Antichrist with the breath of His mouth. The world is enjoying once more pure and abundant Gospel preaching. The Church is taking on a new aspect. A new life is throbbing in the nations. But alas! the victors may not enjoy their spoils in peace. Dissensions are beginning to divide the Church. A process of disintegration begins which splits up the forces that should be solidly arrayed against their common enemy, Rome, into hundreds of sects. Yea, many cast away the ancient faith and follow after new lights, reason and science. The emancipation from spiritual bondage secured for them by the prayers, the Scripture-study, and the trials of their forefathers has not been truly valued. A new bondage has enslaved the generation of to-day, the bondage of pride, self-assertion, self-glorification. The power of the Reformation is

still felt, and the world is still living upon its fruits, but the spirit that fired the hearts of Christians in every department of the Church's works is not felt to-day as it used to be. But the lessons of the past, if rightly read and pondered, may be a valuable aid in the rearing of a generation that prizes "the dear old Church, on prophets and apostles built, with Christ the corner-stone."—If this tale is told in the very plainest style, if no labored learning is crammed into Gordian constructions, and weighted down with still more labored footnotes, if abundant information is laid down in brief clauses, and the arrangement of events is so transparent that cause and effect are easily discernible in the progress of the story, a book will be produced that is instructive, fascinating, and educating. Such a book is a desideratum not only in the Swedish portion of our American Lutheran Church, but in every other section likewise. Trabert's book published some years ago does not meet the want fully. Such works as Mosheim's, Neander's, Gieseler's, Guericke's, Hase's, Kurtz's, all of which have been translated into English, are plainly above the grade of the college student. Even the divinity student finds it no easy task to appropriate the facts of church history by the aid of these guides,—not to mention the bias of which these authors have not always been able to rid themselves.

Now, the book before us has been excellently arranged and entertainingly written. The author has understood to bring his excellent learning down to the level of his pupils. Wherever he has had to sketch the views of parties to a controversy he has endeavored to be fair, though he has not always succeeded. He divides his book into three parts: 1. The Ancient Era (A. D. 30—600), embracing the period of the martyrs (—A. D. 324), and the period of doctrinal development. Special chapters have been devoted in this part to the constitution and cultus, the life and discipline, and the doctrine of the Church. The establishment of various church-offices, the mode of admitting members to the Church, the order and places of worship, church-festivals, life within the Church, the fixing of the New Testament canon, the rise of monasticism, the missionary work of the Church, the fatal union of Church and State, the influence of the Church upon life, the Trinitarian, Christological, and Soteriological controversies,—all these matters are exhibited in concise form. No essential feature has been overlooked, and the reader obtains a complete picture, true in the main, of this important era. The brief but adequate biographical notices which have been added to this part are valuable. Besides the chief Roman emperors we find sketches of Justin Martyr, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Mani,

Gregory I, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Augustine. The author's opinion regarding the *libellatici* ("We must not judge them who with the most horrible tortures awaiting them faltered and fell," p. 13) seems latitudinarian. Why should we be enjoined from saying, especially to young men whose character is to be formed by their studies, that these men did wrong? For the same reason we should rather deplore than commend the large-heartedness of Origen. (p. 37.) Nor is the zeal for pure doctrine in the period of transition from the ancient to the medieval era properly criticised. (p. 88.) This zeal was rather inspired by love of power; it was the first muttering of that fanatic zeal which broke upon Christendom in peals of thunder in the popish inquisition.—The history of the Medieval Era (A. D. 600—1517) the author discusses under three heads: The Territorial Changes, the Constitution and Cultus, and the Life and Doctrine. Mohammedanism, the character of the papacy, the crusades, scholasticism, mysticism, humanism, the abortive reformatory movements are here discussed. Special accounts of the lives of Boniface, Gregory VII, and Henry IV, St. Elizabeth, St. Bridget, St. Francis, Bernard of Clairvaux, and John Huss are added to this section. Like most modern historians the author estimates the merits of the Roman Church during the Middle Ages too highly. Rome, it is held, acted as a conserving force against barbarism. She exercised outward discipline. Her saints set examples of "most selfish abnegation and the deepest piety." (p. 160.) She fostered learning and art. The Church of God existed also under popery, and sinners were saved also in those dark ages. True, but the historian who studies ends and means, causes and effects, cannot but regard these matters partly as accidental, partly as a cunning deception, as lying signs and wonders. The Roman Church of the Middle Ages, viewed from the standpoint of the historian, is simply the papal hierarchy with all that that implies. Whatever this hierarchy lays its hands on becomes tainted. Hence we loathe also its comelier aspects, its Francis of Assisi and its St. Bridget, its monkish learning and its missionary zeal. The era which began with the passing of Romulus Augustulus and closed with the Diet of Worms has preserved what good traits there are in it in spite of Rome. Accordingly, we could wish some of the illustrations in this part out of the book. The world still has reason to heed Luther's solemn warning: *Deus vos impleat odio papae!*—In the third, or Modern Era the author presents the history of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland and the Catholic Counter Reformation up to the Council of Trent and the preparations for the Form of

Concord. Next follows an account of the fortunes of the Lutheran Church, its territory, its internal development, doctrinal controversies, orthodoxy and pietism, the period of illumination, the nineteenth century. Schleiermacher, Claus Harms, and Fliedner are the last historical characters mentioned in this section. The next chapters treat, in the order named, the Reformed Church (in all countries), the Sects (Mennonites, Socinians, Arminians, Baptists, Quakers, Herrnhuters, Methodists, Swedenborgians, Irvingites and Darbyites, Mormons), the Roman Catholic Church (Jansenism and Jesuitism), and the Greek Church. So far the work of Bishop Lövgren extends. The rest is an American supplement (p. 300—348) and treats the religious denominations of America, the Lutheran Church in America, and the propagation of the Gospel. — Naturally, to a Lutheran, this third section is the most interesting in the entire book. The story of the Lutheran Church has been told in a fascinating way. Luther is plainly a congenial figure to the author. However, he also inclines, like most modern writers, to the opinion that Luther was at times needlessly harsh. This censure—for it is that—never fails to strike us as prudish. We imagine an aesthetic miss viewing at a safe distance the battle of Gettysburg through her field-glass and exclaiming: How horrid! Why, those men are actually killing each other! So they are; and that is what they are there for. A person who can charge Luther with rash and ruthless conduct simply has failed to grasp the situation that confronted Luther. From the same press which has issued Lövgren's History there has come to us in these days the following excerpt from Tholuck which has been transferred to the pages of the *Augustana Journal*. Tholuck writes on "Luther's rashness." He says: "What would have become of the Church if the Lord's servants and prophets had at all times done nothing else but spread salves upon sores and walk softly?" He introduces Luther in his own defense: "On one occasion, when asked by the Margrave Joachim I, why he wrote against the princes, he returned the beautiful answer: 'When God intends to fertilize the ground, He must needs send first of all a good thunderstorm, and afterwards slow and gentle rain, and thus make it thoroughly productive.' Elsewhere he says: 'A willow-branch may be cut with a knife and bent with a finger, but for a great and gnarled oak we must use an ax and a wedge;' and again: 'If my teeth had been less sharp, the Pope would have been more voracious.' 'Of what use is salt,' he exclaims in another passage, 'if it do not bite the tongue? or the blade of a sword unless it be sharp enough to cut?' Does not the prophet say, 'Cursed be he that doeth the

work of the Lord deceitfully, and keepeth back his sword from blood'?" — On page 199 f. the author contrasts the genius of Luther with that of Zwingli. Of the latter he says: "He had come to a more liberal view and truer conception of Christianity." "While Luther proceeded from the material principle of the Reformation and made it his chief aim to bring men to a life of faith and joy to the Lord, Zwingli proceeded from the formal principle and made it his chief object to lift men out of the darkness of ignorance and superstition. In outward changes, as for instance, in the order of service and the like, *Zwingli was quite radical* [*italics our own!*] and removed everything which was not enjoined in the Word of God. Luther would hear of no other means for the establishment of the Reformation than the preaching of the Word and the right administration of the Sacraments, while Zwingli did not think it wrong for the state to use force for the spread of the Gospel." Question: Does this prove Zwingli's "more liberal view and truer conception of Christianity"? The passage is a *lucus a non lucendo*. And for a Lutheran to deny to Luther a grasp of the formal principle of the Reformation equal to his grasp of the material is a *testimonium paupertatis*. The author imputes Augustine's doctrine of predestination to "all the reformers." He says: "Luther never formally renounced this doctrine." (p. 232.) Augustine's doctrine he has sketched thus: "God, who according to His justice must punish sin, *has of His great love out of the great mass of lost humanity chosen a few who shall be saved*. With these His grace works with irresistible power for their conversion and preservation in faith. On all the rest the grace of God does not work at all, or at least not in full earnest, and they are as a result lost." (p. 78.) This statement does justice neither to Augustine nor to Luther. So much is true that Augustine in his "City of God" (ch. 1) and in his "Enchiridion" (ch. 100) treats predestination as a generic term, embracing the reprobation of the damned. We are more concerned about Luther. To impute to him views like those cited is an outrage. To cite only one statement, Luther says: "Human reason feigns to believe a partial will in God, as though God were a tyrant, who has a few fellows whose condition He suffers to please Him, no matter whether it is good or bad, while He hates others, no matter what they do. *Such thoughts regarding the will of God we are not to entertain*." (X, 1001.) — In general we find, as the author proceeds from Luther to Flacius, the Form of Concord, the period of orthodoxism, etc., that modern influence is more and more betrayed. His judgment on the theologians of the Form of Concord and during the pietistic disturbances is not exactly that of Heppe, but approaches the spirit of Tholuck, despite the attempts

to be fair which he makes by pointing out the evil tendencies of pietism, which has become the historic road to rationalism.— We have one more remark to offer with reference to the American Supplement. It was certainly a practical idea to append a brief outline of the American Lutheran Church. Nor have we any fault to find because the lion's share of this outline went to the Swedish part of the Church, because the book appears to have been intended for Swedes. But it is a serious fault in a *historian* to attempt to write even an outline of the history of our Church in America without due regard to the part which the Synodical Conference has played in rearing the American Lutheran Church. We are prepared for the charge of partisan motive in making the above remark. Whoever wishes to impute that motive, let him do so. We have merely a reviewer's interest in this matter. The history of the American Lutheran Church prior to 1830 is a rather sorry exhibition of Lutheran ignorance and indifference, and the Swedish portion of it is the sorriest of all, for it records, in the main, Lutheran losses and Episcopalian or Methodist gains. Real, stirring history begins with the founding of the Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Norwegian Synods. These synods, whether in union or in conflict, have made the Lutheran Church to stand for a definite and distinct concept in doctrine and practice, and by their arduous labors in the study and in the wide field of congregational activities, church extension, etc., have lifted American Lutheranism out of the state of desuetude into which it had sunk in the days when the revivalist and the latitudinarian were dominant, and Lutherans solemnly resolved that the Augsburg Confession is, in a manner, correct. In a history we look for something better than statistical tables showing the relative greatness of this or that organization. The remark concerning the Missouri Synod ("On the subject of election the doctrinal position of the synod approaches very closely to Calvinism," p. 320) is not history but gossip which the American supplementers were childish enough to believe. *The Lutheran Witness* and the *Evang. gelisk Luthersk Kirketidende* already have repelled the charge.

THE LUTHERANS IN AMERICA. Their Heroic Past and Their Promising Future. By *Rev. C. Kunzmann*, D. D. 40 pp. Church Register Co., Greensburg, Pa. 1906. Price, 10 cts. per copy.

This is an amusing brochure, and the amusing part is that the author is "in dead earnest," to borrow a slang phrase. Having traced

the Reformation and the discovery of America to the Mohammedan invasion of Europe, he proceeds to tell anecdotes about the Lutheran Church in our country. He reviews the periods of exploration, colonization, revolution, and the Civil War down to the present time. Grave and trivial matters are jumbled with no attempt at discriminating between events which really stand in a causative relation to the present status of the American Lutheran Church, and such as are mere way-side happenings. Henry Muhlenberg's coming is related with as much fervor as Peter Muhlenberg's very questionable act of quitting his holy office to follow the drums of Washington. At no place does the author put forth the least effort to expound the essential characteristics of his church, to point to her chief glory, the heritage of divine truth and Scriptural teaching bequeathed to her. But he is a veritable genius in noting the least public distinction that has come to any of her members. He has discovered that in sixteen matters Lutherans were first in point of time. Among heroic feats of Lutherans in the past he records the ringing of Liberty Bell by a Lutheran sexton, the baking of a full-weight loaf by a Lutheran baker in Washington's campaigns, etc. This exhibition of Lutheran greatness will command no respect among thinking men. It is simply addressed to the galleries. The Lutheran future, if anything, is pictured still more unhappily. The author is a Pan-Lutheranist. Witness the following: "We expect the Pan-Lutheran Convention to prepare the way for a Pan-Lutheran Confederation and a world-wide activity. Of this we are convinced. (Sic!) As goes the Lutheran Church in America, so goes the Lutheran Church in the world. And as goes America, so goes the world. I behold a vision. Before me stands America." Etc. This vision extends through three pages. A voice from heaven is heard. The General Council is seen standing in the center of the religious forces of the world. Gustav Freytag, Talmage, and President Roosevelt are admiringly pointing to the Lutheran Church. There are "voices, in increasing number and volume, calling, calling, calling" to the Lutheran Church, and so on. Of course, the galleries are again in a frenzy at this unblushing and premeditated — *Schwaermerei*. And the author of this brochure has been assigned a position in his church-body which requires the soberest, calmest, most practical and matter-of-fact mind, that of Superintendent of Missions!

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Evidence of the Resurrection of the Lord.	65
The Consciousness of Sin.	78
The Principal Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary.	88
John Wicliffe	97
In Behalf of Paul Gerhardt and the Mosaicists.	107
Wartburg Letters of Luther	122

THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

VOL. XI.

APRIL, 1907.

No. 2.

EVIDENCE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE LORD.

(By request.)

The faith of Christendom is found ultimately to rest upon a single miracle. Christians themselves are taught to stake all on this miracle: "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that He raised up Christ: whom He raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not. For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised. And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished." 1 Cor. 15, 14—18. Thus Paul. This is not hyperbole.

Facts of sacred history show that the supreme importance of the resurrection of the Lord was recognized not only in verbal statement, but in the entire activity of the early Church. In the same chapter from which we have just quoted Paul sketches in a few lines the essentials of apostolic preaching. He states, v. 1: "I declare unto you the Gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye have received," etc.; and then proceeds in vv. 3. 4 to say: "I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried, and that He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures." Peter's Pentecostal oration, the first public effort of an evangelical preacher in the New Testament, states, and proves by means of Old Testament

prophecy, the fact of the Lord's resurrection, Acts 2, 22—32. Peter's second recorded oration in Solomon's porch treats the resurrection of the Lord, Acts 3, 14. 15. The first persecution of the Church by the Jewish Sanhedrin aimed at the suppression of this preaching of the risen Christ, Acts 4. Twice in quick succession Peter and John defended the Lord's resurrection in the teeth of the high priests, and at their second confession of this miracle they had just been brought from prison, nothing daunted by the threatening of the men who had crucified their Lord, and might be permitted to crucify them also. Philip declared the name of Jesus in Samaria, explained the suffering and glory of Christ to the eunuch. But why multiply instances? The preaching of the risen Lord was the stereotype message of the apostles in every part of the then known earth. That is the marrow and substance of the Gospel: Christ is risen from the dead!

Again, in Rom. 10, 9 Paul has reduced the faith which Christians profess to its briefest expression. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." He impresses upon Timothy, as a sacred duty, this: "Remember that Jesus Christ of the seed of David was raised from the dead according to my Gospel," 2 Tim. 2, 8. That is the sweet kernel of all Christian faith and profession: "I know that my Redeemer liveth!"

Again, the resurrection of the Lord in the theology of the apostles represents not only the basis of their dogmatics, but also of their ethics. The daily life of Christians has its moral fundament in, draws its moral strength from, patterns its spiritual renewal after, the resurrection of the Lord. To quote a single passage out of many, Paul says: "Know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into His death? Therefore we are buried with Him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. For if we have been planted together in the like-

ness of His death, we shall be also in the likeness of His resurrection: knowing this, that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin. Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with Him: knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over Him. For in that He died, He died unto sin once: but in that He liveth, He liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord. Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof," Rom. 6, 3—12. That is the crown and glory of a truly Christian life, viz., that it is being transfigured into the glory of the risen Lord by daily rising from sin.

Again, the resurrection of the Lord is the secret of the courage of Christian martyrs. "I see the heavens open and the Son of Man standing at the right hand!" Acts 7, 56 — this cry of the protomartyr of our faith has been ringing down the centuries. Robert Turnbull in his "Christ in History" portrays the power of resurrection-faith from Ireneus, Polycarp, and Justin to Luther and to the nineteenth century. (pp. 346—473.) It is a noble account, this tale of the cloud of blood-witnesses for the despised Galilean whose praises are sung in mortal agony, rising triumphant above the crackling of devouring flames, the howls of wild beasts and the frenzied shouts of still wilder men. That is the mighty stimulus of Christian martyrdom: "I have fought a good fight; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which He shall give me who said: I live and ye shall also live! I go to prepare a place for you!"

Again, the resurrection of the Lord has given color and character to the public acts of Christian worship. The Lord's Day, the day when God brought again from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep, stands like a benediction at the entrance of our weeks of toil and worry. The Lord's Gospel sheds its

health-giving rays from every Sunday morn to Saturday night. Every new week is placed afresh under Easterly influences. Christian Passover, i. e., Easter, came to be celebrated quite a while before the Church celebrated Christmas. The feast of the resurrection was the keystone in the arch of annually recurring church-festivals.

Briefly, then, we may say with Uhlhorn: "From whatever side we may view life in the oldest Christian congregations, again and again we meet with this living faith in the resurrection as its moving and propelling force." (*Aufersteh. Chr. als heilsgesch. Tats.*, p. 182.)

Yes, such is the importance of the Lord's resurrection. We fully agree to the statement of Quenstedt and Gerhard: "Resurrectio Christi est basis et fundamentum omnium fidei articulorum." (Qu., *Theol. d.-p.* II, p. 376. Gerh., *Harm.*, C. 212.) And we fail to understand how a theologian like Steinmeyer (*Aufersteh.-Gesch.*, p. 3 f.) can minimize the importance of the resurrection for the Christian apologist, or how a type of theologians, the school of Schleiermacher, can blandly propose to discard the resurrection of the Lord as a myth, and declare: It does not matter much whether Jesus rose or not. Christianity will continue to exist, independently of belief in the reality of His resurrection.

Alas, that theologians of the negative school have been quicker to see the overshadowing importance of the Lord's resurrection. Strauss has made statements to which believers affix their devout Amen. *E. g.*: "The resurrection of Jesus represents the center of the center, the real heart of conventional Christianity, and it is for this reason that the keenest missiles of opponents have at all times been aimed against it." (*Halb. u. Ganz.*, p. 125.) "We are here facing the point where the decision must come; where we must either retract all our former claims and abandon our whole undertaking, or must come forward with the offer to explain the origin of the belief in the resurrection of Jesus without a corresponding miraculous fact." (*Leb. Jes.*, p. 288.) He calls the resurrection of the Lord "an-

unheard-of event, an event without a parallel," and declares that "in the face of this event the question whether miracles are at all possible pales into utter insignificance." (*Halb. u. Ganz.*, p. 125.) In a lecture on the resurrection of Christ, delivered at Hildesheim, Uhlhorn's opening remarks were: "I am placed opposite to that point in the great conflict which in our day is being waged about the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, where the strife at this moment is hottest. Having first become concentrated about the person and life of Jesus, the conflict now turns upon Jesus' resurrection. Both parties feel that the decision must come at this point." (*Auferst.-Gesch.*, p. 177.) And Pressense has correctly stated: "If the resurrection cannot stand as an integral part of Christianity, it is not worth while to talk about the remainder." (*Ibid.*, p. 216.)

Such is the importance of this miracle of the Lord's resurrection, as acknowledged by friend and foe of Christ. Now, it is true that we are here dealing with a miracle, something that will prepossess the skeptically inclined against the truth of the resurrection. They spurn miracles, and an event based on, or accompanied by, miracles is at once placed under suspicion by them. The average skeptic is never a good pupil. He lacks that passiveness which is necessary for the successful impartation of knowledge. He is ever on the alert to discover fraud and imposition. His attitude is defiant. He seems to say: Convince me, if you dare! He does not say: Pray teach me! He is biased. His mind is preoccupied and prepossessed. His receptivity is limited. He only accepts what he cannot well afford to decline. He may be silenced and cowed by a presentation of truth, but in his heart of hearts lurks the wish that he might have had the better of the argument. He may acknowledge the victory of truth, however, with a keen regret over his own discomfiture.

The skeptic is usually a bad historian. History is the study of known facts, together with their known consequences. It is occupied with these two questions: 1. What has happened? 2. What came of it? Within these limits history gives an ac-

count of events on the basis of cause and effect. The historian cannot go behind the facts. He cannot undertake to explain the cause of the cause. He must not question the reality of an occurrence on the ground of its incomprehensibility. The historian does not care to know whether anything could have happened, but only whether it did happen. In the address already referred to, Uhlhorn says: "Indeed, I am well aware that the claim is set up in many quarters that the only method truly historical is to absolutely exclude the acceptance of miracles. For, it is said, miracles are inexplicable, are matters which cannot be comprehended from the natural connection of cause and effect, and hence, they cannot form the subject-matter of historical research. Just as if history were able in every instance to pursue its subjects to their primal base and beginning, and to show, in every instance, a perfect chain of cause and effect! The fact that miracles cannot be explained does not exclude them from the consideration of the historian; from such consideration they would be excluded only if they were unknowable. But they are not unknowable; for, although miracles are themselves effects of a higher cause, still, being something that is caused, they readily enter into the natural connection of cause and effect, and are, in their turn, governed as to their effects and consequences by natural laws just as any other fact. However, if miracles are knowable as far as they are facts, they are also subject-matter for historical research, for history deals with facts. It is not from a desire to be historically unprejudiced that miracles are excluded, but from dogmatic bias. A person approaches historical investigation without prejudice when he calmly waits to see whether a strictly historical research will yield facts which, to our conception, are miracles. From the standpoint of the historian I can acknowledge as just this demand only, viz., that whenever we have to do with facts out of the ordinary course of affairs, we must institute a more earnest and searching examination and cross-examination of the witnesses." (*Aufersteh.*, etc., p. 180 f.) Again, this same authority says: "An historical fact cannot be proved except by historical

testimony, nor can it be set aside on any other ground. It can neither be proved on common grounds of reasonableness when historical testimonies for its actual occurrence are wanting, nor can it be set aside on such grounds, if these testimonies are available in sufficient force." (Ibid., p. 179.) This argument has been employed with telling effect in behalf of the fact of our Lord's resurrection by Dr. Paley. He writes: "The history of the resurrection of Christ is a part of the evidence of Christianity: but I do not know whether the proper strength of this passage of the Christian history, or wherein its peculiar value, as a head of evidence, consists, be generally understood. It is not that, as a miracle, the resurrection ought to be accounted a more decisive proof of supernatural agency than other miracles are; it is not that, as it stands in the Gospels, it is better attested than some others; it is not, for either of these reasons, that more weight belongs to it than to other miracles; but for the following, viz.: That it is completely certain that the apostles of Christ, and the first teachers of Christianity, asserted the fact. And this would have been certain, if the four Gospels would have been lost, or never written. Every piece of Scripture recognizes the resurrection. Every epistle of every apostle; every author contemporary with the apostles; of the age immediately succeeding the apostles; every writing from that age to the present, genuine or spurious, on the side of Christianity or against it; concur in representing the resurrection of Christ as an article of his history, received without doubt or disagreement by all who called themselves Christians, as alleged from the beginning by the propagators of the institution, and alleged as the center of their testimony. Nothing, I apprehend, which a man does not himself see or hear, can be more certain to him than this point. I do not mean that nothing can be more certain than that Christ rose from the dead; but that nothing can be more certain than that His apostles, and the first teachers of Christianity, gave out that He did so. In the other parts of the Gospel narrative, a question may be made, whether the things related of Christ be the very things which the apostles

and first teachers of the religion delivered concerning Him. And this question depends a good deal upon the evidence we possess of the genuineness, or rather, perhaps, of the antiquity, credit, and reception of the books. On the subject of the resurrection no such discussion is necessary, because no such doubt can be entertained. The only points which can enter into our consideration are, whether the apostles knowingly published a falsehood, or whether they were themselves deceived; whether either of these suppositions be possible." (*Evid. of Christianity* III, 301 f.) And Dean Milman, in his way, acknowledges the same, when he says: "History, to be true, must condescend to speak the language of the legend. The belief of the times is part of the record of the times; and though there may occur what may baffle its more calm and searching philosophy, it must not disdain that which was the primal, almost universal, motive of human life." (*Lat. Christianity* I, 388.)

The resurrection of Christ is more than an event of history; it is the epochal event without parallel. It is the point where ancient history ends and modern history begins. It is the turning point in the life of the race. It is not possible to ignore this event. He has not read history at all who assumes to pass over this event, claiming that it is of no moment. Voices from all lands under the sun, from every archive of the past accessible to us, say, after the year 70 p. Chr., do not whisper, hint at, suggest, but cry aloud and shout: He is risen! He must be deaf and blind who has failed to perceive this. To understand present conditions in this world of men without accepting the resurrection of Christ as a fact, necessitates the assumption of a greater miracle than the one which skepticism rejects. Jerome quoting Eusebius says: "Do you believe that rustic fishermen from a hamlet . . . conceived the idea of going out to the world — without literary ability, the illiterate to the refined, the ignoble to the skilled? Consider the abject state, low social rank, the absence of learning, the poverty, and the small number of these preachers." (*Lardner's Works* IV, 79.) Chrysostom is astonished, "That a few men, some fishermen,

another a publican, all illiterate, and destitute of worldly wealth and authority, should prevail over both living and dead, and bring over to their scheme not one, or two, or twenty men, or a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand, but cities, and nations, and people." (*Hom. in Matth.* 1. See Lardner IV, 563.) At another time he rises to declare: "For the Christian religion to have been spread over the world without miracles, would be a greater miracle than any recorded in the New Testament. If He had not risen, there would not have been any miracles wrought in testimony to it; nor would any have been able to work any miracles in His name: whereas the same power wrought miracles before and after His crucifixion, yea, more and greater after it than before. But how does it appear that miracles were wrought then? will an infidel say. From whence does it appear that Christ was crucified? From the Holy Scriptures, he will answer. Well, that miracles were then done, and that Christ was crucified is manifest from the Holy Scriptures; for they relate both the one and the other. And if the adversary should say that the apostles wrought no miracles, it may be replied: You make their power and the divine favor greater, if indeed, without miracles, they allured so large a part of the world to true religion. For that would be the greatest and most wonderful miracle of all that a company of twelve men, poor, mean, illiterate, despicable, should draw over to themselves so many cities, and nations, and people, and kings, and tyrants, and philosophers, and rhetoricians, and, in a word, the whole earth, without working any miracles. But do you expect to see miracles done now? I will show you some, and greater than any that are recorded: not one dead man raised to life, not one blind man restored to sight, but the whole earth recovered from the darkness of error; not one leper cleansed, but many nations washed from the leprosy of sin. What miracle dost thou desire, man, beyond this great change made in the world all on a sudden?" (*In Princ. Art.* H. 4. T. III, p. 92. 93. See Lardner, IV, 563 f.)

In order to study the evidence of the resurrection of our

Lord with any degree of satisfaction to ourselves, and so as to enable us to readily discover the vulnerable points in any skeptic argument which may be advanced against it, we will have to be thoroughly familiar with the account of the witnesses of that event. Before we weigh testimony, we must have a complete knowledge of the testimony. I shall, accordingly, begin by telling the Easter story in chronological order from the harmonized narrative of the four Gospels and collateral texts.

Loving hands had entombed the Lord in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea, and had shut the entrance to the sepulcher with a huge stone. That was in the late afternoon of Friday. That night, Friday night, the garden was forsaken. No human being was left near the tomb. Friday night passed, and Saturday morning dawned, when, behold, a delegation of Jewish church dignitaries wend their way up the steps to the governor's palace. Matthew relates (ch. 27, 62—66): "Now the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate, saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore that the sepulcher be made sure until the third day, lest His disciples come by night, and steal Him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead: so the last error shall be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch: go your way, make it as sure as ye can. So they went, and made the sepulcher sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch."

Lardner accounts for the fact that the Jews did not procure the guard on Friday in the following manner: "The priests and Pharisees did not go to Pilate till the next day, or the morrow after our Savior's crucifixion and burial. And there are obvious reasons for such delay. The day in which our Lord was crucified had been a day of full employment and great perplexity to Pilate. And the Jewish priests and Pharisees might not judge it convenient to disturb him in the evening of it. Possibly this thought of a guard, to watch the sepulcher, came not into the minds of any of them that evening. Whenever the

thought arose in the minds of one, or two, or some few of them, it would require time to propose it to others, and gather them together, to go with the request to Pilate. And the morning of the next day was soon enough. For they could none of them suspect the disciples to be so horribly profane and desperate, as to attempt to remove a dead body on the Sabbath! They therefore made provision against the night that followed after the Sabbath. Which was all that could be reckoned needful in the opinion of the most suspicious. Indeed, it is not easily supposable that any of those Jews did really suspect the disciples of a design to steal the body. But they were willing to cast upon them the scandal of such a supposition, the more to bring them under popular resentment. But the contrivance turned out to their own disadvantage." (X, 354.) He also cites Grotius: "The council could not sit on that day. But after a private consultation some of the priests and elders of the sect of the Pharisees went to Pilate, as if they had somewhat to say to him of the utmost importance. Nor had they much difficulty to obtain from him what he regarded of no consequence." (Grotius in Matt. 27, 62. See Lardner, X, 356 f.)

Meanwhile the disciples had disappeared. They were in hiding, partly from shame, partly from fear. But a few of the female followers of the Lord were anxiously waiting for the passing of the Sabbath which kept them indoors and from all manual labor, Luke 23, 56, in order that they might go and embalm the body of Christ. The dawn of the first day of the week was just creeping up from the east, but it was still dark, when a company of women, the two Galilean Marys, Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and certain others, among whom were Salome and Joanna, started for the sepulcher, bringing spices and ointments which they had prepared after returning from the burial on Friday, Luke 23, 56; 24, 1, and which they had in part purchased that very morning, Mark 16, 1. They were not aware of the action taken by the Jewish church council on the preceding day, viz., of the sealing of the stone, and the posting of the Roman guard. Had they known this,


it is likely they should not have ventured forth. Their only concern, as they were walking toward the grave, was the removal of the huge stone, Mark 16, 3. That threatened to baffle their effort.

However, great things had meanwhile transpired at the sepulcher of the Lord, or were just then transpiring. A great earthquake shook the region, — it matters little whether *συσμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας* in Matthew be understood as, in effect, the pluperfect or as the imperfect tense. If the women, as Meyer claims, were eye-witnesses of the phenomenon, the discovery which they made only served to hasten their steps towards the tomb. They beheld, from a distance, that the stone had been dislodged. Being of huge size it could be easily discerned at a considerable distance. Mary Magdalene, it appears, no sooner noticed the removal of the stone than she hurried back to the city to bring the report to Peter and John. No doubt, she believed that some harm had been done to the Lord's body, perhaps grave-robbery had been committed.

Meanwhile messengers of another sort were speeding toward the city: the Roman guard. They had been dazed, not only by the earthquake shock, but still more by the apparition of a gorgeous angel who had rolled the stone from the mouth of the tomb and had sat upon it. From this vision the guard ran, as soon as they had recovered themselves. Their destination was the Jewish church council. Thus the news of the resurrection must have reached the friends and foes of Christ at about the same time. After the flight of the guard the angel took up a position in the grave. There was a companion with him, whom Luke and John mention, but whom the women seem not to have discovered at first. The nearer angel addressed the women in the words recorded by Matthew and Mark when they had reached the grave. Calming their fears, he breaks to them the Easter news, and his companion joins him. The women are invited to inspect the place where their Lord had been laid, and which they had marked sadly on the preceding Friday evening. With greetings to the brethren, particularly to penitent Peter,

and with the injunction to meet Christ in Galilee, the angels dismiss the women. Meantime Mary Magdalene has returned, accompanying John and Peter who had decided to investigate the state of affairs at the tomb. Neither of them believed that a resurrection had taken place. John outran Peter on their way to the sepulcher, and quickly glancing into the tomb, and finding it empty, he hastens back to inform Peter. In John's mind there may have faintly dawned the perception of the great truth. Peter was determined to make a thorough investigation. Arriving at the sepulcher he enters it deliberately and finds the linen that had been wrapped about the body and head of Christ neatly folded and laid each in a particular place. Perfect order, no confusion was what met his eyes. No sign, no trace here of grave robbers. John beheld the same, and was convinced. Peter, too, must have had his doubts shaken. He returned to the city, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass. Mary Magdalene, who had now arrived fully at the grave, lingered behind sorrowing, when Peter and John left. She beholds the angels seen by her sisters, and whom John and Peter appear not to have beheld. She makes complaint to them of her anxiety when asked for the cause of her sorrow, and before receiving their reply turns and faces Christ, whom she mistakes for the keeper of the place. Then follows that meeting so touchingly told by John. Mary had been the first to see and hold converse with the risen Christ. She goes to bear the tidings of this blessed interview to the disciples. The Lord vanished from Mary's sight, as suddenly as He had appeared, and just as suddenly stands before Mary's companions, the other women, with whom she had started for the tomb, and who were now hurrying back to the city. "All hail!" He greets them; they hear His voice, they recognize His familiar figure, and fall prostrate at His feet. With a greeting to their brethren, whom He now calls His also, and with the direction already communicated by the angels, to meet Him in Galilee, He dismisses them. That was the second manifestation.

Mightily the holy city must have been stirred by the rumors



which seemed to have been blown in upon its inhabitants upon the morning breeze. Consternation reigned among the priests, when the guards had made their report. A hurried meeting is convoked, and the bold plan is decided upon to offer hush-money to the first involuntary witnesses, not of the Lord's resurrection, which no one had seen, but of the amazing circumstances under which the tomb had seemed to open of its own accord. The injunction to the bribed soldiers, to spread the rumor: "His disciples came by night, and stole Him away while we slept," required that the soldiers should incriminate themselves, and that, with an offense which is regarded as an unpardonable offense in military life. For a picket to sleep at his post is considered such a grave dereliction of duty that it has been made punishable by death in all ages. Accordingly, Paley remarks: "It has been rightly, I think, observed, by Dr. Townshend (*Dis. upon the Res.*, p. 126), that the story of the guards carried collusion upon the face of it. Men in their circumstances would not have made such an acknowledgment of their negligence, without previous assurances of protection and impunity." (*Works* III, 303.)

(To be continued.)

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF SIN.

A consciousness of moral guilt was the immediate result of the first transgression. Then awoke "the avenging rectoral faculty" in man—Conscience. Even as man has never lost the power of recognizing God in the works of nature (Rom. 1, 19—21), and for this reason is "without excuse" when he transfers his devotions from their true object to idols of his own making, even so the faculty of distinguishing right from wrong, the "sense of sin," and, with it, the consciousness of guilty wrongdoing, has played a leading part in the history of the race and of the individual. It could not be otherwise. "The Gentiles, which have not the Law, are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the Law *written in their hearts*, their con-

science also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another," Rom. 2, 14. 15. The neglect or misuse of these two powers which man possesses as a natural endowment—a knowledge of the true God and a knowledge of His immutable Law—will constitute the guilt of natural man "in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ," v. 16.

In early ages man was not only conscious of this inner law, but was able to trace it back to its origin in the divine mind. In the Zend writings of ancient Persia a "First Law" is explicitly referred to, which was not written, but which the servants of the highest God obtained by immediate and individual revelation "through the ear;" this law, we are told, was later on given a fixed, literary form by Zoroaster.¹⁾ Bluntschli quotes the following from the Brahminic Laws of Mann: "While you are saying 'I am alone,' there dwells in your heart the highest Spirit, an acute and quiet observer of all the good and all the evil that you do." Another Brahminic theologian taught: "The Spirit within, Conscience, has a knowledge of good and evil, and stands in communion with the great World Soul; these two together judge thoughts, words, and actions." The universality of conscience was already recognized by Confucius: "The moral law of the highest philosopher is likewise to be found in the hearts of all men." That the written codes are an outflow of natural law is stated with great clearness by Cicero in the *Offices* (3, 5): "The law of nature is the law of God; human laws, which are established for the benefit of society, do not differ from the law of nature, but are restatements of it (*repetita ex ea*), and in agreement with nature; if they do not so agree, they are unjust and partial." And elsewhere: Laws are not "something constructed by the human mind—but some-

1) Similarly Antigone, in the tragedy, appeals to the higher, "unwritten laws of the gods," in protest against the despotic commands of Creon. (*Antig.*, v. 452.) An ancient code of the Chinese refers to "the Law of the Most High, which is imprinted upon human nature." (Cited by Hofmann, *Das Gewissen*.)

thing eternal, proceeding from the Wisdom which rules the universe with its commands and prohibitions. . . . Ultimate Law is as old as the Divinity; it had its rise *simul cum mente divina*; therefore it can never be abrogated." (*De Legg.* 2, 4. 6.)

Of course, natural man cannot long remain in ignorance of the twofold primary function of conscience. Aristotle²⁾ describes the pleasant sensation which follows right conduct, and the agony of a guilty mind; "the wicked try to flee from themselves, they hate existence and die a self-inflicted death." "Evil conscience is the memory of wicked deeds, good conscience a memory of good deeds," says Seneca. And Cicero refers to the "most pleasurable consciousness of having lived a good life, full of good works." But by far the greater number of passages in which the voice of pagan conscience has found utterance contain reflections on the accusing and convicting power of the inner Voice. The consciousness of moral integrity is exceedingly rare; the *consciousness of guilt*, on the other hand, as universal as paganism itself. A shivering conscience, which "feels the stroke of justice before it falls," has left its record on many a page of ancient literature.

True to the naturalistic tendency of the Hellenic mind, the avenging power of conscience was viewed under the aspect of mythical personification. *Dike* appears in Hesiod and Homer as the goddess of justice, whose seat is by the side of Zeus.³⁾ "If the Sun himself were to go beyond his bounds, the furies of Dike would find him out!" said the "obscure Ephesian."⁴⁾ Both *Nemesis* and *Dike* were termed *dōpōrta*, because, says Aristotle, "no one can escape them." *Alastor* — the avenging spirit that roams about, so often referred to in the Attic drama; *Ara* — the curse that follows transgression, from whose temple in Athens those criminals were publicly cursed whom the police authorities could not reach;⁵⁾ *Ate* — a personification of destruction in Homer; and the *Poinai* — or goddesses of punish-

2) In the *Greater Ethics*, cited by Hofmann, op. cit., p. 17.

3) Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, v. 256.

4) Heraclitus, *Fragm.* 34.

5) Welcker, *Griech. Goetterlehre* III, p. 82.

ment (in Aeschylus) — all these may stand as examples of that intensity with which the Greek expressed the subjective sentiment of Guilt and the related idea of Punishment, as based on simple, concrete fact. Evil Conscience itself was personified in Erinyes; the pangs of an evil conscience, in the Erinyes. They are called *ἡεροφοῖτες*, walking in the dark; *στυγεραί*, terrible; hateful, merciless, stony-hearted, hard-striking (*δασπλήτες*). "Brazen-footed" they are termed by Sophocles,⁶⁾ because they never give up the chase when they once pursue a victim; "even if he fled under the earth — they will surely find him." *Καμπεσίγουνες* — "bending the knees" of the guilty one, is another epithet quoted by Welcker (op. cit.). They punish even the gods when they have become guilty of wrong (Hesiod in the *Theogony*, v. 220)! "If not my intuitive forebodings are much mistaken," says the chorus in *Elektra*, "the dread avenger Dike is coming apace with punishing power; . . . soon Erinyes appears, fleet-footed and many-handed, *with iron footsteps*, from her awful hidingplace" (v. 473 sqq.).⁷⁾ In the most awful drama of antiquity, the "Erinnyes" of Aeschylus, the furies that pursue Orestes into the very temples of the gods do not hesitate to accuse and objugate Apollo himself as instigator and accomplice of Orestes in the murder of his mother. "You, Orestes, must suffer punishment in your turn [in spite of Apollo's intercession], so that I suck from you alive the red gore from your limbs; and having wasted you away I will lead you alive Below, that you may suffer a return for matricidal woe. . . . Fate has destined us to hold this office, to pursue the murderer until he has gone below the earth; and *when dead he is not by any means free!*" (v. 263 sqq.)

The "furies" of Roman mythology are of course copied from the Greek conception of Nemesis and Erinyes. Cicero thus interprets their true character: "The wicked are pursued and terrified by the Furies, not, as represented in the drama, with

6) *Elektra*, v. 491.

7) So, generally, in Greek tragedy, the evil conscience of malefactors finds expression in the sinister warnings and forebodings of the chorus.

burning torches, but with the tortures of Conscience and the agony that follows transgression (*fraudis cruciatus*)."⁸) The very word "*conscientia*" is used to denote "*evil* conscience," "*conscire sibi aliquid*" — to be conscious of wrongdoing. "This shall be thy brazen wall," says Horace, "not to be conscious of any wrong (*nil conscire sibi*), not to grow pale with guilt." (Ep. 1, 1, 60.) "This is the first punishment that lights upon the author of a crime," says Juvenal in the oft-quoted thirteenth Satire, "that by the verdict of his own breast no guilty man is acquitted. . . . *Conscience*, as their tormentor, brandishes a scourge unseen by human hands! Awful, indeed, is their punishment . . . in bearing night and day in one's own breast a witness against one's self. . . . Such is the penalty which the mere wish to sin incurs. For he that meditates within his breast a crime that finds not even vent in words has all the guilt of the *act*!"⁹) . . . These are the men that tremble and grow pale at every lightning-flash; as though not by mere chance, or by the raging violence of the winds, but in wrath and vengeance the fire-bolt lights upon the earth!" "*Nihil est miserius, quam animus hominis conscius*" (of wrong-doing), are the words of old Plautus in the *Mostellaria*; and Quintilian quotes as a common saying: "*Conscientia mille testes*" — an (evil) conscience may stand for a thousand witnesses.

As might be expected, the passages in which the ancients have *ex professo* discussed Natural Law and its relation to conscience, are comparatively few in number, even in the writings of the philosophers and poets. Nor can we from such sporadic instances — however great their value may be to the psy-

8) *De Legibus* 1, 14.

9) "*Facti crimen habet.*" Compare with this the saying of Epictetus: "That which you must not do you must not even wish to do." (*Fragm.* 100.) "Some one asked Thales whether an unjust person remains hidden before the gods; he replied: Not even when he has an evil thought." (Diog. Laertius, *Thales*.) "You may hide before men whatever wrong you commit; before the gods even the thought of it remains no secret." (Lucian, *Epigr.* 8.) This agrees with Aelian's remark (*Var. Hist.* XIV, 28): "In my opinion not only he who commits sin is wicked, but also he who *intends* to do evil."

chologist—obtain an adequate idea of that intense conviction which was the great determining factor in ethnic life and religion—the conviction of *inexpiable moral guilt*. That the human race is totally depraved and fettered in the bonds of sin appears to have been *commune dogma* of the ancients.¹⁰⁾ “It is impossible for man not to be evil,” says Simonides in the dialogue;¹¹⁾ “it is difficult to be virtuous.”¹²⁾ “All men commit more evil deeds than good, from childhood up.”¹³⁾ “More men possess an inclination to do evil than to do good,” says Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia*;¹⁴⁾ and elsewhere: “He is a great fool who does not recognize the evil disposition of the entire human race.”¹⁵⁾ The dramatists expressed the same conviction in unequivocal terms, as when Euripides says: “Sinning comes natural to men,”¹⁶⁾ and in a fragment, “How inborn (*ἐμφυτος*) is wickedness in all men!”¹⁷⁾ Or Sophocles, in the *Antigone*: “Transgression is universal among men.”¹⁸⁾ Similarly Isocrates: “We are all much more inclined to do evil than to do good.” Among the later authors we may cite Epictetus: “If you desire to become righteous, first admit that you are wicked.” “How, then, is it possible to be sinless? Not by any means (*ἀμύχανον*).”¹⁹⁾ And Libanius: “To be sinless is an exclusive prerogative of the gods.” Aelian quotes this apophthegm of Archytas: “To find a person that has not in him something treacherous and malignant, is as difficult as finding a fish without spines.”²⁰⁾ Even Lucian has one of his characters say: “Most men love to tell lies. Some without need much prefer lies to truth, and please themselves and make a business of it without any particular reason. Men have an innate love for lying.”

All antiquity rings with the echo of those words which “the Lord said in His heart: . . . The imagination of man’s

10) A most vivid consciousness of sin, says M. Mueller, *Essays* I, p. 40, “is a prominent feature in the religion of the Veda.”

11) Plato, *Protagoras* 344 C.

12) *Hippius* I, 296 C.

13) *De Bello Pelop.* III, 45.

14) *Bellerophon*, 299.

15) *Diss.* IV, 12, 19.

12) Ibid. 339 C.

14) II, 2, 24.

16) *Hipp.* 615.

18) v. 1023.

20) *Variae Hist.* X, 12.

heart is evil from his youth," Gen. 8, 21. They find a close parallel in Cicero's *Tusculanae Quaest.* (Book III, 2): "Nature gives us very small sparks of virtue; these we soon extinguish entirely as we degenerate through wicked morals and principles, so that the light of nature never again appears. As soon as we see the light of day, we are straightway in every kind of depravity, so that it almost would appear as if we had drawn in error with our mother's milk. . . . Nothing is so wicked that man would not become guilty of it in order to satisfy his lust." "Corrupted by the allurements of lust, we no longer can distinguish those things which are naturally good."²¹⁾ Man's entire helplessness over against temptations cannot be more clearly expressed than in the famous lines of Ovid: "I *see* the better thing (to do), and *approve* of it; but I *follow* that which is evil." "I see what I am now about to do; nor is it ignorance of what is right that leads me astray, but lust."²²⁾ Similarly in the *Amores*: "I hate it; yet I cannot desire *not* to be what I hate!" "We always incline towards forbidden things and desire that which we must not have."²³⁾ Seneca was conscious of "a certain weakness of good intention in all matters."²⁴⁾ He would be satisfied if only every day he could "diminish his vices somewhat and criticise his own faults; ego enim *in alto* vitiorum omnium sum—for I am on an *Ocean* of every kind of iniquity."²⁵⁾ In another passage Seneca refers to the theory of Berosus, that the world must at some time, by a fatal conjunction of the stars, come to an end in a universal deluge. He does not deny such a possibility, for, he says, "*sunt omnia facilia naturae*;" but in the end, he thinks, the ancient order of things will be reestablished; "the animal world will be generated anew and a new race of Man, unacquainted with sin (*inscius scelerum*), and born under better auspices, will be given to the earth. But even in their case, innocence will not last long—only while they are still new on the earth. Speedily

21) *De Legg.* I, 47.

22) *Metam.* 7, 20. 92.

23) II, 4, v. 5; III, 4, v. 17. Nitimur in vetitum, etc.

24) *De Tranq. Animi* II.

25) *De Vita Beata*, 17.

wickedness will break forth — virtue will be hard to find. Virtue needs a leader and a guide; vices are learned also without a teacher!"²⁶⁾ The last sentence in this very remarkable passage finds a close parallel in the following, from Hsun Tzu, a Chinese philosopher of the third century B. C.: "By nature, man is evil. If a man is good, *that is an artificial result.*"²⁷⁾

Irving Park, Chicago, Ill. THEO. GRAEBNER.
(To be concluded.)

THE PROOF TEXTS OF THE CATECHISM WITH A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY.

(Continued.)

Col. 1, 16: *By Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible.*

In the Creed we confess: "I believe in God the Father Almighty, *Maker of heaven and earth.*" Luther explains these words thus: "I believe that God has made me and all creatures." By the phrase: *heaven and earth* therefore we mean all creatures, visible and invisible. This truth is beautifully set forth in Col. 1, 16. "By Him were all things (*τὰ πάντα*) created." This is a sweeping assertion. "*All things,*" whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational, all things that have existence were produced by His creative power. The apostle specifies this comprehensive term *all* by saying: all "that are in heaven, and that are in earth." In whatsoever *place* things may exist, they have been created by Him. A further specification of "all things" is made when the apostle adds: "visible and invisible." Of whatever *nature* the things may be, they are His handiwork. He created the *visible* things, such as the earth with its flora and fauna; the luminaries of heaven: the sun, the moon, the myriads of stars, and, last but not least, man,

26) *Nat. Quaest.* III, 29. 30.

27) Quoted by Giles, *History of Chinese Literature*. Confucius taught: "The most righteous of men cannot conform to the demands of morality in every part; some fault always remains." (Cited by Bluntschli, *Alt-asiatische Gott- und Welt-Ideen*.)

the crown of creation. He called into being the *invisible* things, by which, according to the context, St. Paul primarily understands the heavenly world of spirits—the thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers. In short, God “created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things that therein are,” Rev. 10, 6. “All things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made that was made,” John 1, 2.¹⁾

THE GOOD ANGELS.

Hebr. 1, 14: *Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?*

This text gives occasion to speak, 1. of the nature, and 2. of the ministry of the good angels.

1. *Their nature.* They are *spirits*. What is a spirit? This may be clearly seen from the record of that remarkable appearance of the risen Christ, related Luke 24, 36 ff. When the apostles were sitting at supper, with the doors closed through fear of the Jews (John 20, 19), Jesus suddenly appeared in the midst of them, and “they were terrified and affrighted and supposed that they had seen a spirit.” Allaying their fears, the Risen One says: “Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I

1) The context discloses the fact that the phrase “*by Him*” in Col. 1, 16, as well as in John 1, 2, denotes Christ. So Christ is the Creator of the world. And still we confess in the Creed: “I believe in God the *Father* Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.” How is this to be understood? In the words of Dr. Graebner: “Being an *opus ad extra*, the work of creation was performed with the concurrence of the three Persons of the Godhead. It was the *Father* who made the world *by* the *Son*, Hebr. 1, 1. 2, ‘by whom the world was made,’ John 1, 10, ‘and all things were created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible,’ Col. 1, 16. By the ‘Word of the Lord’ were the heavens made; and all the host of them ‘by the Breath of His mouth,’ Ps. 33, 6, *i. e.*, by the Spirit of God, Gen. 1, 2. But while this work is thus attributed to the three Persons in the Godhead, it is not unscriptural to ascribe it, by appropriation, to the First Person, as is done in the Apostles’ Creed, since in the texts already quoted the world is said to have been made *by* the Son, *by* the Word of the Lord, and *by* the Breath of His mouth, He who by the Son and the Spirit created the world being the *Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth*. Acts 17, 24; coll. v. 31.” (THEOL. QUART., vol. III, p. 5.)

myself: handle me and see; for *a spirit hath not flesh and bones*, as ye see me have." Hence, the angels, being spirits (*πνεύματα*), are incorporeal beings. The supposition that angels possessed a subtile, celestial, material body is refuted by the passage above. Man, consisting of body and soul, is composed of a material and an immaterial element; the angels, however, are simply spirits, without a body or the attributes of material things. Nevertheless they have a personal subsistence; they are *personal* spirits. From our text this truth may be clearly perceived from the fact that they are charged to perform certain tasks — they are *sent forth to minister* unto men. Sadducees, ancient and modern, deny the personal existence of angels; our secular literature, too, is sprinkled with slurs, direct and indirect, at this doctrine; hence the necessity of stressing this truth. Being spirits, the angels are *invisible*. Col. 1, 16 they are enumerated among the *dōpara*, the invisible beings, created by Christ. The fact that angels now and then assumed visible forms does not subvert this doctrine. When they were made, the Mosaic record does not say. That they were called into being within the six days of creation we know. Gen. 1, 1; 2, 2; Ex. 20, 11.

2. *The ministry of the good angels.* Our text informs us in the first place that the ministry of the good angels is *by divine appointment*. They are "*sent forth*." God sends them forth; His messengers they are. What a glorious truth to contemplate! Here is the multitude of the heavenly host, distinguished into various orders by various names, such as principalities, powers, thrones, dominions, etc., standing in the presence of that great and glorious King, whose throne is in the heavens and whose kingdom ruleth over all, ever ready, ever willing to be *sent forth* to execute His every word. Of the "ten thousand times ten thousand" (Rev. 5, 11) of angels not one is, nor would one be, exempt from the duty of serving God. They are "*all ministering spirits*."

The objects of their ministry. They "minister for them who shall be *heirs of salvation*." "*For them*," *διὰ τοὺς, ὡς ἀπο-*

count of those, on behalf of those, for the benefit of those, who are the children of God, heirs of God, Rom. 8, 17; 1 Pet. 1, 2.

The *diakonia*, the service, of the angels is intended especially for the pious. It is true, they are not coworkers of our salvation. It has pleased God to use the ministry of sinful men to preach the Gospel of salvation to sinful men. It was something extraordinary when God in the Holy Night and on that eventful Easter day availed Himself of the ministrations of angels to proclaim the tidings of great joy. Still God, whose will is our salvation, sends forth His messengers to keep and protect us, so that the heirs of salvation may reach the appointed goal.

The character of this ministry is indicated by the words "to minister." To minister means *to serve*. Scriptural examples of the service of angels rendered the pious are numerous. Subsequent passages will give occasion to instance a number of them.

For our *consolation* let us bear in mind that this service is being carried on to-day. The Greek word *ἀποστέλλόμενα*, *sent forth*, is the present participle, and indicates the act designated by the verb as being permanent. The ministering servants were sent forth in olden times, they are sent forth at the present time, and they ever will be sent forth to the end of time for them who shall be heirs of salvation.

Matt. 25, 31: *When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory.*

When the Son of Man, the once despised Nazarene, returns visibly as the Judge of the world, "coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory" (Matt. 24, 30), a magnificent retinue—*all the holy angels*—will accompany Him. This sublimely beautiful text does not call for a discussion here, but the phrase "*all the holy angels*" may serve to speak, 1. of the term *angel*, 2. of an attribute of the angels (*holy*), and 3. of the number of angels (*all*).

The Hebrew word for *angel* is מַלְאָךְ (maleach); the Greek is ἄγγελος (angelos). Both words etymologically mean *one who is sent, a messenger*. In the Authorized Version the one word מַלְאָךְ is rendered by two English ones, *angel* and *messenger*; the same is true of the Greek word ἄγγελος. According to a count made, based on Young's Analytical Concordance, the Hebrew term מַלְאָךְ is translated 98 times by the word *messenger*, and 107 times by the word *angel*. The Greek ἄγγελος is rendered but seven times by *messenger* (Matt. 10, 11; Mark 1, 2; Luke 7, 24; 7, 27; 9, 52; 2 Cor. 12, 7; James 2, 25); in all other cases *angel* is the word used. The general principle which the Authorized Version seems to have followed was to translate מַלְאָךְ and ἄγγελος by *messenger*, when the concept indicated by the English word was apparent in the original text, and to restrict the use of the word *angel* as much as possible to the στρατὸς οὐράνιος, "the heavenly host," Luke 2, 13. From the fact that each of the words, מַלְאָךְ and ἄγγελος, has two renderings, both in English and in German, arises the difference in the translation of some passages of the two versions. Mal. 3, 1: "I will send my *messenger*." "Ich will meinen *Engel* senden." — "The *messenger* of the covenant." "Der *Engel* des Bundes." Mal. 2, 7: "He is a *messenger* of the Lord." "Er ist ein *Engel* des Herrn Zebaoth." Matt. 11, 10: messenger — *Engel*; Luke 7, 24: messenger — *Bote*; 7, 27: messenger — *Engel*; 9, 54: messenger — *Bote*; 2 Cor. 12, 7: messenger — *Engel*; James 2, 25: messenger — *Engel*.

Now, as to the application of the word. No less a person than our *Savior Himself* is called "the Angel of the Covenant," Mal. 3, 1; Matt. 11, 10. He is the Angel κατ' ἐξοχήν, the *un-created* angel, the messenger sent by God to consummate and announce the covenant of grace between God and man. Besides this, which is the highest application of the word "angel," we find it used of any messenger of God. *John the Baptist* was an *angel* of the Lord, Mal. 3, 1; Luke 2, 27; Mark 1, 2, because he was sent by God with a message to prepare the way of the Lord. *Prophets and preachers* are termed *angels* because of

the message they have of God to proclaim to the people. 2 Chron. 36, 15; Hagg. 1, 13; Rev. 2, 1. 8. 12. 18; Mal. 2, 7. In a still wider sense, the words *Maleach* and *angelos* designate *any one bearing a message from one to another*. Gen. 32, 3. 6; Numb. 20, 14; 21, 21; 22, 5; Josh. 6, 17. 25; Judges 6, 35; 7, 24; Luke 7, 24; James 2, 25, etc.

But *in its restricted sense*, as it is commonly used and commonly understood, the term *angel* denotes a specific creature, the ministering spirit of Hebr. 1, 14. In this use of the word it is also of importance to remember that the term *angel* is an official name, and indicates the purpose for which the heavenly host was destined, *i. e.*, to be "sent forth," Hebr. 1, 14. "The name angel does not describe the nature of the being, but its office, and signifies 'one sent,' a legate, a messenger. Hence Augustine: 'Do you ask for the name of their *nature*? It is spirit. Do you inquire concerning the name of their *office*? It is angel.'" (Quenstedt.) The particular office, for example, which these heavenly messengers are to perform on that great day of which the text speaks is to "gather together His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other," Matt. 24, 31.

These angels are *holy*, says the text, that is, they are without sin. Scripture speaks of holy men and of holy women; all Christians are holy people. The distinction, however, between the holiness of the angels and that of the believers is this: Christians are holy in the sight of God on account of the righteousness and holiness of their Redeemer which they have put on by faith, Gal. 3, 2; the angels, on the other hand, are holy in themselves, having retained their concreated holiness. Being holy, their will is conformable to the holy will of God.

"All the holy angels" will be with Christ at His Second Coming. How glorious a sight that will be for the believers goes beyond the powers of our imagination. But once before, on the Night of the Nativity, when the Word was made flesh, did the entire heavenly host leave its celestial home to fill the still air on the plains of Bethlehem with a melodious symphony,

such as never again was vouchsafed for men to hear; now again, at His final coming, they *all* will be with Him "with a great sound of a trumpet," Matt. 24, 31. There will be assembled the angels and the archangels, the seraphim and the cherubim, the thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers. Is. 6, 2; Gen. 3, 24; Col. 1, 16; 1 Pet. 3, 22; 1 Thess. 4, 16. A glorious host, indeed, and a great host! There is a certain, fixed number of angels. Being sexless, Matt. 22, 30, the number is not multiplied; being immortal, Luke 20, 36, the number is not decreased. How great the number is we do not know; but we do know that it is vast. "A multitude of the heavenly host" sang the first Christmas anthem, Luke 2, 13; the number of them, says Rev. 5, 11, is "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousand of thousands." What a vast assembly! And what a glorious and mighty King must He be who is the Lord of all these hosts!

Matt. 18, 10: *In heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.*

To be admitted to the very presence of an Oriental monarch, to see him face to face, was a distinguished privilege, enjoyed by such only as had gained the special favor and confidence of the king. The queen of Sheba, admiring the wisdom of Solomon, says, "Happy are these thy servants, which are continually before thee." Cf. 2 Kings 25, 19; Jer. 52, 25. How great, then, is the happiness of the angels, these servants of God, who behold the King of kings face to face! To see God face to face, to behold Him as He is, is salvation itself. 1 John 3, 2.

The holy angels are "*in heaven*," where God dwells, hence they are happy, blessed. They "*always* behold the face of my Father which is in heaven," hence *they are always blessed*. This dictum of the Lord excludes the possibility of sinning on the part of the good angels; it teaches their impeccability, and presupposes their confirmation in bliss. In express words their confirmation in bliss is taught Luke 20, 36: "*Neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels.*" Quenstedt

says: "Good angels are so confirmed in the good that, as before they were only able not to sin, now they are altogether unable to sin. Matt. 18, 10; 6, 10; 1 Tim. 5, 21; Luke 20, 36; Gal. 1, 8. . . . Those who are to be blessed in eternal life are called 'equal to the angels.' Now, *we* are sure *we* shall never lose that celestial felicity; therefore, much more are the angels thus assured, to whom we shall be like." (Schmid's *Dogmatics* in loco.) When this confirmation took place, Scripture does not say. It suffices us to know the fact. The dogmaticians give it as their opinion that it occurred after the apostasy of the evil angels, as a reward of grace to the good angels for having remained faithful to God.

Observing the context of the present passage we may also note an *employment* of the holy angels. The text is adduced as a motive for not despising the "little ones." "*Their* angels," i. e., the angels of the "little ones," especially appointed to watch and protect them, "do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven." To the tender care of such exalted beings Christ's lambs are committed. How great, therefore, is the dignity with which they are clothed, and how heinous is the sin of putting stumbling blocks in their way! How full of consolation, on the other hand, is not this text for the Christian father and mother, who, filled with anxiety for the welfare of their little ones on account of the dangers that also beset them, can calm their troubled hearts with the firm assurance, God's holy angels are with our little ones. Not a hair can fall from their heads without the will of our Father in heaven.

Ps. 103, 20. 21: *Bless the Lord, ye His angels, that excel in strength, that do His commandments, hearkening unto the voice of His word. Bless ye the Lord, all ye His hosts; ye ministers of His, that do His pleasure.*

"*Bless the Lord, ye His angels;*" "*bless ye the Lord, all ye His hosts.*" Thus the choir invisible is called upon to tune their harps in melodious praise of the Lord Jehovah. We know somewhat of the raptures that encompass the soul when hymns

of jubilee go heavenward in one mighty sweep, but all earthly music pales into insignificance when compared with the majestic hymn of praise of the heavenly choristers with which the dome of the Celestial City continually reverberates: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of His glory," Is. 6, 3. The employment of the angels consists in praising God always. And this song service they perform gladly. Their perfect blessedness, consisting in the beatific vision of God, impels them again and again to break out in strains of music, the "leitmotif," the theme, of which is: "Amen: Blessing and glory, and wisdom, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen." Rev. 7, 11. 12.

When the psalmist says: "*Bless*," i. e., praise, "*the Lord*," that is not to be understood "as if they needed any excitement of ours to praise God, they do it continually; but thus he expresses his high thoughts of God as worthy of the adoration of the holy angels; thus he quickens himself and others to the duty, with this consideration, that it is the work of angels." (M. Henry.)

Thus the holy angels praise God continually, and we who have even greater reasons than they to sing the praises of the Lord are so prone to hang our harps upon the willows! *Sursum corda*! "Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless His holy name. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all His benefits. Who forgiveth all thine iniquities; who healeth all thy diseases." Ps. 103, 1 sqq.

But from adoration the angels may at any time be turned to work. "*They do His commandments*," they "*do His pleasure*." (Cf. Hebr. 1, 14.) And there are attendants in plenty to do God's behests, there are "*hosts*" of them; and these *hosts*, these *ministers*, are "*His*," created for His glorification. He, God, is their Lord and Ruler; His every word they cheerfully perform.

Not only are there hosts to do God's word, but they have the ability to carry out every command, they "*excel in strength*," literally, they are "*mighty in strength*," heroes in strength. The

angels are created beings, hence they are not omnipotent; God alone is almighty; but their strength is vast. The great slaughter of the firstborn in Egypt, the destruction of the 185,000 of the Assyrian army, each effected by a single angel, are striking proofs of their power.

This great and powerful host is pervaded by but one sentiment—to be willing servants of the Most High. “*They hearken unto the voice of His word.*” They *hearken*, i. e., they listen intently to catch the first whispered indication of His will. This beautiful imagery indicates the willingness, the eagerness, and the delight with which God’s ministers execute His every word. Contemplating this willing service of the angels, the sigh goes up from the believer’s heart: “Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven!”

Ps. 34, 7: *The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them.*

The Christian’s life is beset with many dangers. His enemies are powerful, Eph. 6, 12. Luther well says: “With might of ours naught can be done, soon were our loss effected.” How consolatory therefore to know that “the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them.” Viewing this encampment with the eyes of faith, we need not fear. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous. Herod intended to execute Peter. Peter was put in chains and closely watched. Escape seemed impossible. But the Lord sent His angel to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies. Acts 12, 5—10. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego feared the Lord. They would not worship the image of gold set up by Nebuchadnezzar, and hence were cast into a fiery furnace. To his surprise, Nebuchadnezzar saw four men walking in the midst of the fire. The fourth was an angel sent by God to deliver “them that feared Him.” Dan. 3, 6. Daniel feared the Lord. He would not turn idolater at the king’s decree. Though he was cast into the lions’ den, no harm came to him. The Lord sent His angel to shut the lions’ mouth. 2 Kings 6, 17; cf. Gen.

32, 1. Knowing that our path, too, is encompassed with perils manifold, we do well to pray: "Let us this day, and all the remaining time of our mortal life in this vale of tears, be commended to Thy fatherly blessing and divine protection; and may Thy holy angels keep charge over us, that the wicked one may have no power over us."

Ps. 91, 11. 12: *He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.*

From the text we observe: 1. that the ministry of the angels is by divine appointment. The text says, "*He*," God, "shall give His angels charge over thee." This fact we noted in Ps. 103, 20. 21. 2. That they are God's servants, carrying out His behests. They are "*His* angels;" cf. Ps. 103, 20. 21; Hebr. 1, 14. 3. That their ministry is intended especially for the pious. The "*thee*" in the text is he who says of the Lord, "He is my refuge and my fortress: my God, in whom I trust," vv. 2. 9. Cf. Hebr. 1, 14; Ps. 34, 7.

The new matter calling for consideration is the charge committed to the angels, or rather the limitation of the charge: "*To keep thee in all thy ways.*" What does this limitation, "in all thy ways," mean? Whose ways? "*Thy* ways," that is, the ways of the Christian. What are his ways? Those prescribed by the Word of God. "Wherewithal shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto according to Thy Word," Ps. 119, 9. "Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path," Ps. 119, 105. Walking on his way through the wilderness of this world, this lamp, this light of the Word, is to show the Christian the path he can safely tread. Protection through the ministry of the angels is promised him only in so far and inasmuch as he walks on this narrow path; in other words, so long as he leads a godly life. A Christian must not argue, "I am a child of God. My Father will now and then overlook my stepping aside out of the beaten, prescribed path." Forsaking the way of the Lord, he becomes un-

godly. Omit the all-important phrase "*in all thy ways*" from the text, and the devil will quote this Scripture for his purpose, to make people enter on foolhardy enterprises. He did it when making his onslaught on Christ in the wilderness. Matt. 4, 1 sqq. The Savior tells him to expect protection where no promise is given is *tempting* God. The high-diver, the "aeronaut," the "loop-the-looper," and others of that ilk, who perform hazardous feats that tend neither to the glory of God nor to the benefit of man, simply tempt God. They have no promise of divine protection. — What a mighty incentive is this passage to take heed to our way according to God's Word! Ps. 119, 19.

The ministry of the angels is furthermore a *continuous* service. It reads, "In *all thy ways*." Sleeping or waking, at times when there is no apparent danger, or when we are conscious of being in imminent peril, this invisible guard is at our side. We also note the great *carefulness* of their service, which is expressed in the words, "*lest thou dash thy foot against a stone*." Among the many images these words call to our mind is that of a fond mother carefully watching her toddling child, taking his first lessons in walking. There is a stone in the way. That is a great obstacle for that tot. Harm might come to him. That must not be; her child is in danger. So she carefully lifts him in her arms till the danger spot is passed. Thus God acts towards us. We are His children. He says to the angels: Keep them in all their ways! Help them over difficulties; protect them from danger, and be careful about it. Truly, the eyes of the Lord are over the righteous. He careth for us.

From our past experience can we not recall many an escape from impending danger, on land or on sea, many an unexpected assistance?

Springfield, Ill.

LOUIS WESSEL.

(To be continued.)

JOHN WICLIF.

II. THE PATRIOT.

(Continued.)

On February 19, 1377, Wiclif came from Fleet Street by St. Paul's Cross to Ludgate Hill—but he did not come alone. With him came “old John of Gaunt, time-honored Lancaster,” as Shakespeare calls him, the fourth son of Edward III and father of Henry IV, the patron of Geoffrey Chaucer, for thirteen years the practical ruler of England; with him came Lord Henry Percy, later the first Earl of Northumberland and the hero of Chevy Chase, who was the Earl Marshall of England with the sword of state; with him came other powerful supporters, even four Doctors of Divinity, representing the four orders of monks, to help him. The crowd before St. Paul's Cathedral was so dense and excited that an entrance for Wiclif had to be forced. “Dread not the bishops, for they be all unlearned in respect of you,” they cheered Wiclif, as George Frundsberg cheered Luther at Worms. “A tall, thin figure, covered with a long light gown of black color, with a girdle about the body; the head, adorned with a full, flowing beard, exhibiting features keen and sharply cut; the eye clear and penetrating; the lips firmly closed in token of resolution—the whole man wearing an aspect of lofty earnestness, and replete with dignity and character,” such is Lechler's word painting of England's intellectual guide at this time.

William Courtenay, the Bishop of London, on his mother's side a great grandson of Edward I, protested against this assumption of authority within the walls of his own cathedral, and quarreled with the Marshall. When they at last got into Our Lady's Chapel and all were seated, Lord Percy invited Wiclif to sit down also; but the Bishop of London insisted on Wiclif's standing. “Hereupon very contumelious wordes did ryse betwene Syr Henrye Percy and the bishoppe, and the whoole multitude began to be troubled.” John of Gaunt threatened to drag the bishop out of the church by the hair of his

head, and the court broke up in confusion; no sentence was passed, and no official record of the proceedings was kept.

Foiled in this attempt, the help of the Pope was sought: fifty of Wiclif's opinions were sent to Avignon, and their condemnation was asked for.

On the advice of the holy nuns Catherine of Siena and the Swedish St. Bridget, but against the earnest wish of his cardinals, Gregory XI ended the seventy years' Babylonish captivity of the popes at Avignon in France, and sailed from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia, and on January 17, 1377, solemnly entered Rome amid great popular rejoicing, and on May 22, in the splendid Cathedral of San Maria Maggiore, issued five bulls, one to the King, one to the University of Oxford, and three to the Archbishop and Bishop of London, demanding the trial and imprisonment of Wiclif.

Edward III died on June 21, and the son of his gallant Black Prince became King Richard II—eleven years old.

Spite of the Pope's bulls, Parliament at Gloucester, in October, formally consulted Wiclif in the grave matter, whether it might lawfully keep English money from going out to absentee holders of English church offices. Wiclif in his "Responsio" boldly argued that Parliament had the legal right to do so; he even spoke of the "asinine folly" of paying Peter's pence. His friends protested against his imprisonment "at the command of the Pope, lest they should seem to give the Pope dominion and royal power in England," and the Vice-chancellor of Oxford had to content himself with requiring Wiclif to remain in the Black Hall. Even for this he was later driven from office by the King. Sturdy John of Northampton boasted that no bull of the Pope should harm John Wiclif in the limits of London. Sergeant holds him "the most important religious factor in England" at that time.

Even the theologians were in favor of Wiclif; the Chancellor and doctors all affirmed his conclusions to be true, "although they were ill-sounding propositions."

When, at last, Wiclif appeared before the two prelates in

no point of doctrine was attacked; so far only principles of church property and practice were touched. What was new was that here for the first time a bold and revered university professor called on the State to reform a corrupt and unwilling Church.

In the Parliament of October, 1378, the bishops petitioned against Lancaster's killing of two squires and a cleric in violently resisting legal arrest, and Wiclif's tongue and pen were used to defend the layman against the clerics, and the reply of the Lords to the Bishops is most likely the language of Wiclif and really the sum of a part of his work on the Church, "De Ecclesia."

III. THE THEOLOGIAN.

On March 27, 1378, fourteen months after his festive entry into Rome, Gregory XI died. Twelve days after Bartholomaeus of Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, became Pope Urban VI. In the middle of May the French cardinals withdrew to Anagni, and at the end of July sent a letter to the Pope asking him to resign, saying his election was illegal, owing to the violence of the Roman mobs. On September 20, at Fondi, in Neapolitan territory, they elected Cardinal Bishop Robert of Cambray, Count of Geneva, known as Clement VII, and the great scandalous schism of thirty years was begun. At first Wiclif thought well of Urban VI and trusted he would at last begin the sorely needed reform of the Church, but when the two rival popes hurled the most terrible curses at one another and drove the nations of Europe to take sides and embroiled them in bloody wars, they appeared to Wiclif as "false popes," "whose office was without warrant in the Bible," apostates, members of Antichrist and not of Christ, "the two halves of Antichrist," "praise God, who split the head of the serpent, let the two parts destroy each other." He renounces the pope and denounces him as Antichrist, "the head vicar of the fiend," "glowing with satanic pride and simoniacal greed," "a sinful idiot who might be a damned devil in hell."

In order to get the sinews of war for his crusade against

his French rival pope, Urban VI sold indulgences in England. One of the hucksters said at his command angels came from heaven to free souls in purgatory and lead them straight to heaven if the people paid well into the war chest of this holy crusade. Evidently Tetzel later took a leaf out of this man's book. Henry Spencer, the bloody bishop of Norwich, who had cruelly butchered peasants in 1381, in person led an army of ruffians to Flanders against "the Clementines," the followers of Clement VII. Here was a grand exhibition of every papal abuse Wiclif had complained of, and in 1382 he for the last time used his pen for political pamphlets. In the "*Cruciata*," his most powerful polemic, Wiclif denounces the crusade and calls the indulgences the "abomination of desolation in the holy place," and says "the pope has left the path of Christ and is walking in the path of Satan," and that this is the cause of the misery of the Church.

As Wiclif studied the Bible, he began to see that the corruption of the Roman church came from the false doctrine of the Roman church, and he began the great appeal to the Bible. His summons to the State to reform the Church gave the first distinct keynote which the great reforming Councils of Basle and Constance took up in the next century.

The more he studies the Bible, the clearer becomes his judgments, the firmer his language: "In a single word of the Bible there is more wholesome teaching than in all the decretals and bulls" of the pope; "if you do not know the Bible, you will become the slave of the Antichrist;" "not to know the Bible is not to know Christ, to be contrary to the Bible is to be a heretic;" "the Bible alone is infallible, true in all its parts, the only authority for the faith of the Church;" "a book for everybody;" "if we had a hundred popes and all the friars of the world were turned into cardinals, yet should we more trust the Gospel than all this multitude."—To tradition he gave a lower place, the consensus of Christendom deserved respect, but the decrees of councils were of no authority if against the Bible. He did not reject reason, but held that it

alone could not discover truth. The light of nature had its place, and he would accept its helpful offices, but the Bible is the last and infallible basis of belief and supreme judge of doctrine and practice. And this Bible every Christian must interpret for himself. "Christ hath made His servants free, but Antichrist hath made them bond again." "To say that laymen are not entitled to sit in judgment upon the life and official conduct of their spiritual superiors, is as much as to say that it is not competent for the laity to concern themselves about their own salvation." Everyone able to read has the right to get his religion direct from the Bible.

In addition to translating the Bible, Wiclif wrote his great Bible apology, "On the Truth of the Holy Scripture," to the editing of which Prof. Buddensieg gave twenty years of his life. In it he says: "No Christian dare admit the Bible teaches anything wrong. He that has a false understanding of the Bible dare not admit error to be in the Bible, for the error is not in the Bible, but in him that explains it erroneously. God's Word is the basis for every article of faith, the example and mirror in which the Christian may detect every error. The Holy Scripture is the faith of the Church, and the clearer we know its true meaning, the better. Spite all hindrances the French have translated the Bible from Latin into French, why not the English? And if English lords have French Bibles, it is not unreasonable to have them in English also." "Christen men and women, olde and young, shulden study fast in the New Testament, and no simple man of wit shulde be aferde unmeasurably to study in the text of Holy Writ. Pride and covetise of clerks is cause of their blyndnesse and heresie, and priveth them fro verie understanding of Holy Writ. The New Testament is of ful autoritie, and open to understanding of simple men, as to the poynts that ben most needful to salvation. The texte of Holy Writ ben wordes of everlasting life, and he that kepeth mekeness and charitie hath the trewe understandinge and perfection of all Holy Writ. It seemeth open heresy to say that the Gospel with his truth and freedom suf-

fisheth not to salvation of Christen men without kepyng of ceremonies and statutes of sinful men and unkynginge, that ben made in the tyme of Sathanas and Antichriste."

The Church is the communion of saints, the whole number of those that shall be saved, the mystical body of Christ; the Pope cannot be head of this Church, that is Christ only; it is impossible to excommunicate anyone from this church unless he have first done it himself.

By ordinance of Christ priests and bishops are all one, and all pastors are of equal grade, and all Christians are spiritual priests; Church and State are to be separate; the seat of all power and authority, in Church and State, is in the people.

The two sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper are not empty signs, but real means of grace; even if the priest is an unworthy man, though faith is needed to get the benefit; he hinted very strongly that the other five were no more sacraments than preaching.

Any slight good work done the living is far better than any amount of treasure for the soul of a dead man. The treasury of the merits of the saints in heaven from which the Pope sells indulgences is a swindle to cheat Christians and pick their pockets, and the people who let themselves be cheated are fools.

The worship of saints and images he rejected; saints he honored, and images he tolerated. For confirmation and extreme unction he finds no warrant in the Bible. Private confession is good in itself; public confession is better; enforced auricular confession is a "sacrament of the devil," an invention introduced after Satan had been loosed, and confessors are "idolatrous, leprous, and simoniacal heretics." Enforced celibacy is unscriptural and immoral. Indulgences are "blasphemy, lewdest heresy." He was earnestly opposed to all wars, and would have made a good member of a Peace Congress at The Hague. Relics, pilgrimages, purgatory, papal bulls, priestly absolution he rejected. The hierarchy of Rome are "the twelve daughters of the diabolical leech;" the cardinals are "incarnate devils;" the monks "gluttonous idolaters."

In earlier years Wiclif had thought well of the begging monks over against the wealthy secular clergy, but in time he saw their corruption, and about 1378 he began his vigorous assaults on them as the supports of the Pope. When it was said the Bible does not know monks, Wiclif with mild sarcasm answered: "But it does; in this text: 'I know you not.'" He bitterly assailed them for their share in carrying on this war, for their indulgences and sale of prayers, for their cupidity, luxury, extravagance, and fight against the English Bible. William of Wykeham, the political opponent of Wiclif, the founder of New College, declared with grief, that upon "a diligent examination of the various rules of the religious orders and comparison with the lives of their several professors, he could not anywhere find that the ordinances of their founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them."

Twenty years before Wiclif began his protest against the flagrant abuses in the Church, Bishop Fitz Ralph of Armagh laid his famous indictment of the four orders of the monks before the Pope at Avignon. He said, "I have in my diocese of Armagh two thousand persons a year (as I think) who are excommunicated for willful homicide, public robbery, arson, and similar acts; of whom scarcely forty in a year come to me or my parish priests for confession. For commonly, if there be any cursed swearer, extortioner, or adulterer, he will not be shriven at his own curate, but go to a flattering friar, that will assoil him falsely for a little money by year." The rich were forgiven for a window in the cloister, the poor for a pair of shoes or a dinner. Some of the monks even gave it out that any man or woman who put on a friar's dress at the hour of death could not be damned.

Owing to the scarcity of clergymen after the plague, Archbishop Islip ordained laymen, and he "did ordain that more should not be given to priests for their yearly stipend than three pounds six shillings and eight pence, which caused many of them to steal," Stow naively tells us.

In 1379 Wiclif was very ill, but when four monks came to convert him, he called his servant to prop him up in bed and said, "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the friars."

As early as 1362 Wiclif had doubts about Transubstantiation, and in 1367 he taught the "sacramental presence" of Christ's body. In the spring of 1381 he put forth his powerful Twelve Theses on the Eucharist, in which he denies that the bread is destroyed after consecration; it does not cease to be bread, though Christ's body is present, really, not locally, but sacramentally, as really as the bread, in "a sacramental coexistence," "as Christ is at once God and man, so the Sacrament is at once Christ's body and bread, bread in a natural manner, Christ's body in a sacramental manner." He insists that Transubstantiation was neither taught in the Word of God nor supported by tradition in the first thousand years of the Church, and calls it the most dangerous heresy ever smuggled into the Church by cunning hypocrites; it denies the truth of Scripture, robs the people, is a cause of idolatry, the people making the wafer their God, the priest having "made the body of Christ." Lord Brougham, Dr. Storrs, and the *Encyclopedia Americana* say Wiclif taught practically and substantially the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and Lechler says he was nearer to Luther than to Zwingli and Calvin. "Wiclif's doctrine is an echo of the Apostles and a prelude to the Reformation." — "From the eleventh century the dogma of the Church has been perverted. The popes have been wrong, the councils have been wrong, the decretals are full of heresy. If Rome will not unsay her false doctrine, the national churches must repudiate her claim to lead them. She has built up a crazy superstructure on the true foundation; we must sweep it away, and get back to the life and words of Christ." "We have but to preach constantly the Law of Christ, even before the prelates of Caesar, and a blooming martyrdom will promptly come, if we abide in faith and patience." (*Trialogus* III, ch. 15.)

This attack on the very foundation of the papacy created a sensation and consternation, as did the famous theses of Luther in 1517. Lancaster and other powerful friends told him they could not follow him in his heresy. But Wiclif was nothing daunted. Sure of the truth of his position, he deliberately sacrificed the protection of the court. If need be, he could die for the truth, but he would not deny the truth.

Still more friends were estranged from Wiclif's cause by the rising of the peasants in this same year.

The awful plague of the "Black Death," in 1349, cut down the population of England one half, London alone losing 100,000. Many left their property to the Church, so that she owned one third of the soil of England, and her dues amounted to twice the royal revenue. The wars with France were a heavy drain on the country, and the burden of taxation fell heaviest on the peasants, the Church being untaxed.

In 1379 a poll tax was levied, unheard of till then; it was paid "with great grudging and many a bitter curse," Hollinshed chronicles. In 1381 it was ruthlessly collected, and under the "mad priest" John Ball, Jack Straw, and Wat Tyler the peasants revolted, as they had done in France in the Jacquerie for the same reason. They were willing to pay the fifteenth, as their fathers had done, but they could not possibly pay this tax.

The peasants rose against their oppressors in Essex, Kent, Suffolk, and elsewhere; they marched on London and sacked the city, they burned Gaunt's palace in the Savoy, on June 13, 1381, they in the Tower beheaded Archbishop Sudbury, the responsible Chancellor since July 4, 1379. The young King rode out and made them satisfactory promises. The promises were not kept. As in the Peasants' War in Luther's time, the peasants were forcibly put down and cruelly slaughtered, seven thousand were burned, beheaded, disemboweled. This went on till January, 1382, when the fifteen year old King Richard II married Anna of Luxemburg, sister of King Wenzel of Bohemia and daughter of the German Emperor Charles IV. It is worthy

of mention that she brought with her a Bible in Latin, German, and Bohemian.

Though Wiclif was not responsible for the rising of the peasants, still Wiclif's enemies heaped the blame on him and on his teaching, and with the timid and prudent Wiclif's cause was much damaged, as was Luther's cause in his day.

Milwaukee, Wis.

W. DALLMANN.

(To be continued.)

IN BEHALF OF PAUL GERHARDT AND THE ELENCHUS.

Six weeks before his sixtieth birthday, at an age when the judgment of men is matured and their actions are taken deliberately, Paul Gerhardt, poet-confessor of the Lutheran Church, resigned his office of second *Diakonus* at St. Nicolai in Berlin (January 27, 1667). The reasons for this painful step appear to pass the comprehension of not a few of his less scrupulous epigones in the land over which the resolute house of Hohenzollern holds sway. Palmer confesses that he is "puzzled" at Gerhardt's action. He is at a loss to understand "why a poet of so rich and pure a mind, and a theologian whose religion and Christianity was not riveted to dogmatic formulas,—as has been the case with many before and after him,—not only failed to keep aloof from the wrangles of his day, but is even seen to have been the most uncompromising opponent of the Reformed theologians." He has scanned critically the features of Gerhardt in the portraits which Langbecker and Schulz have added to their biographies of Gerhardt, and he declares: There is not a trace of bigotry, of the *odium theologicum*, discernible in this benevolent countenance; it reminds one much more of Herrnhut than of Wittenberg portraits. He concludes, accordingly, that in Gerhardt's resignation "we have before us a psychological problem to which our modern theological consciousness furnishes no key, because we

have been taught to view the ethical content of Christianity in a relation of greater freedom not to faith but to fixed dogmatical formulas, and, in particular, not to regard the pulpit as the arena for theological controversy. What was demanded of Gerhardt appears to us as so self-manifest that we would not view those demands as a limitation placed upon academic liberty, all the more because the end of preaching and ecclesiastical decorum of themselves erect necessary barriers to the freedom of speech. Nor could Gerhardt desire for his own person that license which zealots demanded; the Electoral edicts must have seemed oppressive least of all to him." He grants, however, that it must have been the conscience in Gerhardt that caused him to tremble at the mere possibility of making even a slight advance to Reformed theology. And the warning to his son in Gerhardt's testament: "Beware of syncretists; for they seek temporal gain and keep faith neither with God nor man," Palmer views as evidence that the pious mind of Gerhardt, reared as it was in the Lutheran faith, felt the disturbances which Reformed and unionistic tendencies had created at Berlin as a profanation of sentiments which he regarded as sacred. He believes that the age of Gerhardt was still at a far remove from the unqualified postulate of modern enlightenment, viz., that opponents in a controversy must endeavor to comprehend each other's views, each trying to place himself in the other's position, — an art which Palmer thinks does not by any means lead to indifferentism or to the surrender of the basic principles of a person's faith, but rather to clemency and justice in framing one's judgment of another's views. (Herzog, R. E. 5, 47 f.) Twisten criticises Gerhardt's action from the view-point of the unionist. He argues that a certain minimum of union must be allowed in every case where two or more churches meet within the same territory. Such ethical relations as connect a person with the commonwealth and the family, being common to members of all churches, must remain points of contact and occasions for fellowship between them, and each church must reduce the demands which it makes upon its mem-

bers for exclusiveness to such a degree as to render such fellowship possible. An absolute separation between members of dissenting churches would not only prohibit intermarriage between them and thus destroy the wholesome influence of kinship and domestic relations, but it would even render the peaceful coexistence of such church-members within the same community, their neighborly intercourse, their cooperation in secular pursuits, their joint action as a body politic impossible. Accordingly, Twesten holds that the law of parity pursuant to the convention of the Peace of Westphalia has made it incumbent upon states to constantly guard against excesses of one denomination against the other and to confine each within the limits of its covenanted concessions. Nor should such guardianship of the state be resented by the churches as coercion, because 1) that which the state aims at is a duty which the Church owes to mankind regardless of any state action, viz., to cultivate Christian kindness, peaceableness, concord, and to exercise a Christian influence within the commonwealth; 2) because the state holds this relation of guardian towards all churches alike. A condition of mutual forbearance and toleration will thus ensue, and all churches will, under the practical working of this law, aid in exhibiting Christianity as a factor in the forming and conserving of the civic order and of society in general. He concludes: "While in the seventeenth century even so mild-mannered a gentleman as the poet Paul Gerhardt resigned his office rather than consent to the supposition that he would refrain from condemning and scoffing at the confession of his prince, even when not expressly obligated to that effect, there will be hardly any one found in Prussia nowadays for whom the Electoral edicts of 1661 and 1662 would require to be renewed." (Herzog, R. E. 16, 676 f.) Krummacher charges Gerhardt and his associates with evading the point at issue in the controversy with the Reformed theologians, because the former refused to regard the latter as brethren by stating: "A Christian is a person who holds the true saving faith pure and unadulterated, and also exhibits the fruits thereof in his

life and conversation; hence, I cannot regard the Calvinists *qua tales* as Christians." (Pieper, *Zeug. d. Wahrh.* 4, 446.) Henke plainly shows disdain of the Lutherans in the controversy with the Great Elector because "they scrupled about abandoning their attacks upon, and their condemnation of, those doctrines which had been rejected in the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, and seemed to fear that they were violating their oath of allegiance to those writings." (Herzog, R. E. 15, 360.) Victor Strauss censures both parties to the controversy for their failure to take a philosophical view of the difficulties existing between them. "Granted," he says, "that the Elector was actuated by the best motives, still his whole effort was a mistake. The unity of the spirit can be attained only by an historical process by which contrasts are resolved into that higher truth in which they are one. This truth, however, cannot be discovered by a royal mandate; the Spirit of God, who will have no one to prescribe time or place to Him, must reveal it. It has been said that the government must be above the parties. That is fair whenever the point at issue is the rights and duties of the parties within the state. But this demand cannot be fulfilled in the domain of truth and the perception of truth, especially religious truth. As regards this domain, the government as such must take its position altogether outside of the party lines; any interference on its part is either superfluous, or fruitless, or unjust. The history of the spirit cannot be made [to order]. However, this is rarely understood. Any one who is serious in his convictions naturally believes himself to be right, and regards the opposition with which he meets as springing from sources of insincerity, stubbornness, passion. So the Elector regarded the conduct of the Lutheran preachers, and so the Lutherans and the Reformed regarded each other's conduct." (*Sonntagsbibl.* 1, 70.)

Some things in the views expressed sound strange to an American. Twesten's argument, *e. g.*, seems beside the mark to one who has grown up and lived in a commonwealth where church and state are separated, and the state regards the mem-

bers of the church merely as citizens on a parity with other citizens, where governmental action looking toward the regulation of the internal affairs of the Church, or the relation of one denomination to another, is not so much as thought of, and where the denominations recognize that their members have duties to perform to the commonwealth and to one another as neighbors and fellow citizens. We understand from Twesten that matters are different in countries, like Prussia, where the state is a determining factor in the arranging of the affairs of the Church. But Twesten commits an historical inaccuracy when he refers to Gerhard's resignation in the connection he does. For the inference can be none other than that Gerhard's position and that of the Lutheran clergy affected the civic and social relations of church-members. This is not true. Gerhard, in particular, was very popular in Berlin, as a kind-hearted pastor, of cordial address. Neither against him, nor against the other Lutheran pastors was there a charge of unneighborliness or insubordination to the magistrates raised. On the contrary, the city council of Berlin and the Estates of Brandenburg, yea, and the various guilds of Berlin, irrespective of creed, united in invoking the Electoral clemency in his behalf when his resignation had become known. Gerhard's letters to the Elector (see Becker, *Paul Gerh.*, p. 52) breathe loyalty and reverence for the prince. So do the statements which Gerhard's superior, Lilius, had to make to the Elector. And all the counsels which the Lutheran clergy in Berlin, Stendal, etc. received in those days from Jena, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Nuremberg, Stralsund, Hamburg, Greifswald, Rostock (see Loescher, *Alt. u. Neu.*) do not contain a single hint, that the civil relations of the Lutherans to their sovereign and to their fellow citizens had become an issue. At the conclusion of the Berlin Colloquy the Lutheran theologians declared, 1) that they would abide by the doctrines of their Church; 2) that they would show to the Reformed all neighborly and Christian love, and would wish from their heart that they (the Reformed) would all be saved. (Becker, p. 31.) The Electoral edicts, it is true,

mention heated debates in towns and villages between adherents of dissentient creeds, and manifest concern for the maintenance of the public peace. But these disturbances cannot have been either so numerous or so violent as to call for the drastic measure of "muzzling the pulpit." Besides, a prince who desired Heidegger's *Diatrobe* circulated (Herzog, 5, 656) can hardly be taken seriously when he declares his sensitiveness with regard to such a designation as Calvinist.

Palmer, too, misstates the scope of the Electoral edict. The edict seems to treat both the Lutheran and the Reformed Church alike, but there is an unmistakable effort made to bring the Lutherans over to the *Confessio Marchica*. The Elector cites the example of his predecessors, especially John Sigismund, who first introduced the Reformed Church in the Mark, and declares that he purposes to continue their work. The edict of 1614 was therefore reiterated in 1662. Moreover, the Elector minimizes the doctrinal differences between Lutheranism and Calvinism. "Unsere in etliche puncten dissidenten Evangelischen Unterthanen," he styles his subjects. He pleads for "mutua tolerantia und vertraeglichkeit;" he desires to make "einen guten Anfang zum Evangelischen Kirchen-Frieden." Lastly, he takes a very decided stand in favor of those theologians in the Lutheran and in the Reformed Church "who have published irenic writings, and have proved that the *dissensus* among the Evangelical parties is not fundamental, and that a *tolerantia Ecclesiastica* might well be established." Accordingly, he will not permit these theologians to be called hypocrites, Calixtinians, and Syncretists. (See Loescher, *Alt. u. Neu.* 1736, p. 51—58.) What the Elector wanted was what the Hohenzollern dynasty has always wanted, and what it has succeeded in establishing in Prussia in 1820,—a state-church with more or less distinct Reformed coloring. Palmer also emphasizes that the Elector declared that he was not opposed to the proper use of the *elenchus*, nor did he wish to curtail the religious liberty of his subjects. True, this statement was made about the time when Gerhardt took his departure from

Berlin, at a time of great popular unrest. It was a diplomatic assurance,—oil upon the troubled waters. Contemporaneous events, however, seemed to justify the fears of the people. Rektor Rango makes complaint that a Lutheran preacher was haled before the magistrates because he had used the expression “the blood of God” (Acts 20, 28) in one of his sermons. The preacher had not referred to the Reformed doctrine at all, but this expression was regarded as in itself an attack upon Calvinism. Pastor Helwig reports to Dr. Titius at Helmstaedt that the sale of Lutheran literature is connected with some danger in Berlin, and that the booksellers are afraid to display Lutheran brochures, but Reformed writings are exhibited and sold without danger. With these *facts* before them, what value could to the Lutheran pastor attach to the Elector’s *words*? Besides, the very terms of the Elector’s assurance were indefinite, vague: he declared that he was not opposed to the “noetige tractirung der Controversien und des Elenchi.” Under the very terms of this assurance the Elector was free at all time to proceed against any preacher whose “tractirung” he regarded as not “noetig.”

These facts must be borne in mind, in order to enable us to understand Gerhardt’s action. The Lutherans in the Mark would simply have been blind if they had not interpreted the Electoral tendency as hostile to their church. They were not to renounce their faith, they were not to be coerced into adopting the Elector’s creed; they were to be tolerated, as long as they kept very quiet, and signed a formal statement to that effect. On the other hand, any one who inclined to adopt the Reformed faith was distinctly favored, and his example was commendably mentioned in high places. When the Elector informed the Berlin city council that he would not require Gerhardt to sign the statement, it seemed that Gerhardt had gained his point, and was free to continue his work as a Lutheran theologian without any restrictions. However, the messenger of the Elector who informed Gerhardt of the Elector’s action concluded his message by adding, that the Elector was

satisfied that Gerhardt would carry out the injunctions contained in the Edict, although he had not signed a statement to that effect. Gerhardt was not even asked to return a verbal reply to this statement. His silence would have been construed as consent. This proposal must have been revolting to a conscientious mind. There was but one course open to him, and that he took. He resigned, and any one else with a conscience must do the same under like circumstances.

But was it necessary, indeed, that Lutherans should oppose the doctrine of the Reformed church? Have they not overestimated the necessity of the elenchus? What does Scripture say with regard to the elenchus?

Paul enumerates, in 2 Tim. 3, 16, four uses of Scripture. They may be viewed as two pairs, arranged in the order of chiasmus, thus: doctrine and reproof, the first pair, represent the instructive qualities of Scripture, the former from the positive, the latter from the negative side. Scripture furnishes the Christian teacher both the thesis and the antithesis. Correction and instruction in righteousness, the second pair, represent the educative qualities of Scripture, the former from the negative, the latter from the positive side. Scripture furnishes the Christian teacher the antidote for ungodliness and the stimulant for godliness. Doctrine and life, faith and practice, the premises and the conclusions of Christianity, are drawn from Scripture, which have been made "able" (v. 15) and "profitable" (v. 16) for these very ends. As to the doctrine and faith, Scripture states both what is truth and what is error; as to life and practice, Scripture states both what is vice and what is virtue. Thus constituted Scripture is the adequate means for the accomplishment of the work of "the man of God" (v. 17), *i. e.*, the Christian teacher, the pastor, the theologian. (Comp. 1 Tim. 6, 11.) The latter is "thoroughly furnished" for his entire work only when he employs Scripture in this fourfold manner.

As regards the theologian in his capacity of teacher of the divine Word, it is plain that the apostle desires him to act both

as instructor (*πρὸς διδασκαλίαν*) and as censor (*πρὸς ἑλεγχον*). These are distinct functions. *Διδασκαλία* is not *ἑλεγχος*, and vice versa. It is true, indeed, that the mere statement of a truth *implies* and even *necessitates* the rejection of the contrary error. But the statement of the truth is not in itself and in due form that rejection. It is also true that opposition to an error presupposes the previous acceptance of the contrary truth. The mere lust of strife is never a justifiable propelling cause to a theological controversy: the Christian polemist must not so much have something to fight against as rather something to fight for. The separate mention, therefore, of doctrine and reproof as standing *usus Scripturae* amounts to the service of notice upon the theologian that he must, indeed, do the former, but not leave the latter undone; that his function as teacher of men embraces both *Lehren* and *Wehren*; he must wield the trowel and the sword, or to borrow the beautiful imagery of Luther, the theologian must be both shepherd and watchdog: he must pasture his flock and resist the raiding wolf. Dumb dogs that cannot bark are declared unfit for the office of watchmen in the Church of God. (Is. 56, 10.)

The only pertinent question in this connection can be as to the mode of the reproof, the proper occasions for it, and the extent to which it should be applied. *Ἐλεγχος* denotes a convincing argument, a proof. The Septuagint renders Job 23, 4: *τὸ στόμα μου ἐμπλήσει ἐλέγχων*, "I would fill my mouth with arguments." The impatient sufferer longs to take his cause before the judgment seat of Jehovah and argue his innocence to God. He would also refute and censure the charges and insinuations of his mistaken friends, Job 6, 26; 13, 6; 16, 21. *Ἐλεγχος*, then, is that which shows truth to be truth, and error, falsehood, evil to be such; it is that which hushes the gainsayer. The verb *ἐλέγχειν* is used, in classical Greek, to denote an investigation with hostile intent, and hence, the conviction of an opponent. (See Cremer, *Woerterb.*, and Stephanus, *The-saurus*, sub voce.) It has retained this meaning in the New

Testament: *ἐλέγχειν* denotes convincing a person of error or wrongdoing and reprehending him for it. Witness the following: James 2, 9: "If ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors," *ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὡς παραβάται*. In the instance here assumed the elenchus embraces the statement of a distinct fault, the charging of that fault to a distinct person, and the branding of that person with a name that is to carry just reproach. These features of the elenchus appear likewise in Matt. 18, 15 f: "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and *ἐλεγξον αὐτόν*," etc. Our Authorized Version has rendered this phrase excellently: "Tell him his fault," thus making both the deed and the doer the objective of the elenchus. This elenchus is not a deduction which someone makes from another's statement, not the personal application of a general censure, not an inference, not a vague hint, but a direct charge. The whole context, moreover, shows that the elenchus is a very personal and earnest procedure. It begins with a private *tete-a-tete*; but the censor, conscious of the justice of his cause, arraigns the trespasser also before witnesses, giving his reasons and meeting the counter-reasons of his opponent, and finally carries his complaint before the spiritual supreme court for final adjudication. The aim of the elenchus is to gain the brother. This implies that the brother is in danger of being lost, *i. e.*, that he is in a damnable state, that he is on the point of sacrificing his salvation. Hence the result, when the elenchic effort miscarries: "Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican," v. 17, *i. e.*, brand him and treat him henceforth as an infidel and a profligate. This extremely reproachful verdict is still a part of the elenchus, which began at the personal encounter. Such a verdict whenever uttered carries on its face the declaration that the parties rendering it regard the person against whom it is rendered as one who sins against better knowledge, who has stifled his own conscience, and has placed himself outside of the pale of the Christian brotherhood. In 1 Tim. 5, 20 we find mentioned as the objective of the elenchus "them

that sin," and in Eph. 5, 11. 13 "the unfruitful works of darkness," hence, particular men and particular actions. But the latter text indicates a more indirect form of the elenchus. In v. 11, indeed, the apostle demands a personal separation of consistent Christians from certain other persons, but in v. 13 he ascribes elenchic force to the common preaching of God's Word, when he says: "All things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light." It is to the same point when the Lord, in John 3, 20, says: "Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd," and when Paul writes in 1 Cor. 14, 24: "If all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all" (*ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων*). Error and vice love darkness, and those that are addicted to them shun an open and honest contest with truth and virtue. Meanwhile the preaching of God's Word goes on, and the light streams automatically, as it were, into the haunts of falsehood and wickedness, and men feel the force of the elenchus, though they were not personally arraigned by the preacher. The Word of God, quick and powerful, penetrates the hearts of men independently of any special aim of its proclaimers; it follows error into its hidden recesses, uncovers its subterfuges, and drives it out of a sheltering ambiguity, and men know that they have been discovered in their lies and shame, though the human instrument in this successful chase may not be conscious of his success.

The Scripture texts cited embrace every essential part of the elenchus. One feature, however, deserves special attention. It was shown that 2 Tim. 3, 15 ff. is primarily addressed to a theologian. God has made it the special duty of the called teachers of the Church to wield the elenchus. It is one of their official functions. In the same epistle (2, 14) Paul urges Timothy to "put his hearers in remembrance, charging them before the Lord that they strive not about words to no profit, but to the subverting of the hearers." Paul knew the dangers of a wordy warfare, the strife of tongues in theology. He was

no friend of the eristic, the disputationous controversialist, the theological dare-devil to whom controversy is an end in itself. Unprofitable and subversive of faith he calls such practice, but he points the earnest theologian to the profitable elenchus (3, 16) which is a part of Scripture. This elenchus, too, is inspired truth, and Scripture cannot be fully taught without it. Whoever omits this elenchus which the Spirit has put into Scripture robs the Church of a blessing which God has designed for her. Yea, the Spirit of God, who speaks in and through the written Word, Himself is engaged in elenchic work, according to the Lord's promise. "When the Comforter is come," says Christ, "He will reprove (*ἐλέγξει*) the world." Christ is pointing to the day of Pentecost. When the Spirit was poured out upon the believers, the Church of the New Covenant was dedicated for its great work on earth. The Pentecostal Visitor from on high brought the elenchus. The first apostolical oration was directed against a coarse jest. God proved that He will not be mocked. When Peter had ended his sermon from Joel and the Psalms, there stood before him a smitten assembly of men. They were pricked in their hearts and inquired anxiously: "What shall we do?" Peter had not minced words; he had bluntly charged them with the murder of the innocent Jesus. He had wielded the elenchus with such great force and such good results that three thousand souls professed Christ. Thus the elenchus is connected with the very beginning of the Christian Church, and that it was constantly and deliberately employed throughout the apostolic era, the Acts and Epistles of the apostles witness.

The Word and the Spirit are the informer and guide of the theologian. It is impossible, in a world of error and vice, for a teacher of the Church to follow these heavenly guides and yet avoid using the elenchus. "A bishop," says Paul, "must hold fast the faithful Word, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers" (*τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν*), Tit. 1, 9. A bishop, then, who does not favor the elenchus is not a bishop after the heart of

God. He incapacitates himself, by his timidity or indifference, for a penetrative study of the Scriptures; his theology will be tinged with doubt and skepticism. For the Word which he is to preach is a faithful, *i. e.*, a sure and reliable Word. If he holds it fast, he is himself assured. In that case there can be no question as to his mode of procedure whenever his teaching is contradicted. His conscience, informed by the Word of God, will not suffer him to remain silent; for the Word bids him speak and "convince the gainsayer." More than this, the faithful Word makes him "able to convince" his opponent. The bishop, then, who on such an occasion prefers a dignified silence to a frank refutation of his opponent, places his carnal wisdom ahead of the wisdom of the Lord. Or if he agrees to forego the use of the elenchus because his opponent declares that that is to him the only objectionable feature, he is a credulous fool who does not see that the opponent objects to the means and mode of attack only because he does not like to be attacked at all.

Paul, moreover, is very explicit in impressing upon the bishop the duty of employing the elenchus. He characterizes the gainsayers with whom Titus is to deal as "unruly," persons who will not submit to any order, heady, "vain talkers and deceivers," "liars, evil beasts." He says that their "mouths must be stopped," v. 11, and they must be "rebuked sharply," *ἀποτόμως*, v. 13, *i. e.*, without any untimely leniency, promptly and effectually, so that all their subterfuges and pretenses may be cut off. Language like this shows that the elenchus is, indeed, no pleasant affair, neither to him who is using it nor to him against whom it is used.

To cite only one more passage, Paul writes to Timothy: "Preach the Word; be instant in season, out of season, reprove (*ἐλεγξον*), rebuke (*ἐπιτίμησον*), exhort with all longsuffering and doctrine. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears," 2 Tim. 4, 2. 3. The two terms which the apostle in this place joins with the com-

mand to employ the elenchus have reference to the manner in which it is to be used. Solemn earnestness, on the one hand, and patient persistence, on the other, should characterize the use of the elenchus. The preacher should reiterate the threatenings of God's righteous anger, and thus shake the false confidence of the sinner, and by repeating and continuing his efforts and presenting the divine doctrine possibly from a new point of view each time, he should endeavor to show the sinner with increasing clearness his error, so that, in the end, the sinner stands convicted, even though he refuses to be convinced. The apostle also names a time when the elenchus is especially applicable and necessary: when sound doctrine is not endured, when teachers arise who adapt their teaching to the fancies of men, tickling either men's reason or their flesh, when error is being preached for truth, or immorality is given shelter within the Church. In such times the elenchus is to be sounded, clear and sharp like a bugle-call to action, that the enemy may be frightened and the secure aroused.

The prophets, Christ and His forerunner, the holy apostles, and all successful teachers of the Church have used the elenchus. It can be shown that periods of keen theological warfare have been seasons of decided inward and outward growth to the Church, while long seasons of peace and ease have been marked by spiritual torpor and decay. When properly employed, the Church has always use for the elenchus. The confessors at Augsburg very decidedly stated what they held in regard to particular doctrines, and did not hesitate to add that their adherents "*damnant secus docentes.*"

Gerhardt had been reared in the faith of the above Scripture and of the confessions which followed the lead of Scripture also with regard to the elenchus. He was not a reckless disputant. The testimony of his contemporaries pictures him as a modest, peace-loving person. Such a person the Christian polemist should ever be. Nor is there anything coarse, any buffoonery, any trickiness, any dragging in of irrelevant matter, any witticisms that are intended to hurt the feelings,—in

short, anything of the nature of carnal weapons discernible in his polemics. He states his dissent calmly and in objective form, but is very decided and unyielding against any unscriptural position that he has begun to combat. He appeals to his opponent's conscience, and he does not shrink from holding up to the opponent the ultimate consequence of his error, — damnation.

The generation of Lutheran theologians of whom Gerhardt was a representative has long passed away, and with them has passed away, as a distinct discipline of theology, that of polemics. Pelt records the change that has come thus: "Meanwhile an irenic spirit had taken the place of the former lust of strife, and this spirit endeavored, especially since the publication of Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie*, to do justice to an opponent. This accounts for the movement which arose to exhibit scientifically the peculiar mode of reasoning of the various churches as seen in their confessions. These efforts have developed, since Bernh. v. Sanden, Walch, Fr. Boerner, and others, into the science of symbolical theology, which latter began to drain polemics of its heart blood, until the younger discipline, known as History of Dogma, arose, and completely finished polemics, causing it to disappear almost entirely." (Herzog, R. E. 11, 793.) This is true, in the main. There have still been polemicists in the Church, and even textbooks on polemics have been written as late as our present age. But polemical theology of the type of the Reformation era is distinctly under popular disfavor. A new sort of polemics has arisen, and strange to say, is indulged in just by such theologians as pose as representatives of a liberal Richtung. As between the two brands, we very much prefer the old kind, with its rugged plainness, its straightforward attack, and scrupulous application of Scripture. And just from a theologian like Gerhardt our age may learn how to avoid the two extremes in polemical theology, viz., to sin neither *in excessu* nor *in defectu*.

WARTBURG LETTERS OF LUTHER.

(Continued.)

To MELANCHTHON.¹⁾

To Mr. Philip Melanchthon, the faithful servant of Christ and evangelist of the church at Wittenberg.

Jesus.

Grace! I have disliked your letter in a twofold respect: firstly, because I notice that you are bearing your cross with too great impatience, and that you give way too much to your emotions and are too tender-hearted, as usual; secondly, because you exalt me far too much and are egregiously mistaken in attributing to me such great things, for you assume that I am greatly concerned about God's cause. Your high opinion of me confuses and vexes me; for, alas! I am sitting here impassive and hardened in idleness. I am praying little; I am not groaning at all for the Church of God; on the contrary, I am burning with a great fire of my untamed flesh. To be brief, while I ought to be fervent in the spirit, I am fervent in the flesh through evil lust, laziness, idleness, drowsiness, and I do not know but what God has forsaken me, because you are not praying for me.²⁾ You take my place now, more eminently gifted by God and comelier than I.

It is now eight days that I have not written anything, nor prayed, nor studied, partly because of buffetings of the flesh, partly because I have been tormented by other grievances. If this condition is not improved I must needs go to Erfurt in

1) See MS. in Cod. Jen. b, f. 6; in Cod. Solger. Dresd. C. 351, fol. 28 b (much mutilated); MS. 1393, fol. 39, in the royal library at Copenhagen. It was published by Aurifaber I, 334 b, De Wette II, 21, in Erlang. Corresp. III, 189. St. Louis Ed. XV, 2528. Prof. Hoppe notes that the text of the letter has suffered many mutilations.

2) It is over statements like these that Romanists of the Denifle school have gloated, reading into them a confession of gross carnality, while the scope of Luther is plainly this to deprecate praise, of which he was never fond, and in declining which he would sometimes, by a well-known law of the mind, permit his utterances to run to the opposite extreme. Moreover, he has specified the evil lust of which he complains.

broad daylight.³⁾ There you will see me, or I shall see you; for I shall there consult physicians or surgeons. For it is impossible for me to bear this affliction longer.⁴⁾ I could more easily suffer ten large wounds than this slight indication⁵⁾ of a lesion. It may be, too, that the Lord oppresses me thus for the purpose of hurrying me out of the wilderness into the public.

I shall not reply to Emser;⁶⁾ let some else reply whom you consider suited for the task, maybe Amsdorf. However, he may be too good to be mired with this dirt.

I have resolved to translate your Apology⁷⁾ against the asses at Paris together with their insane stuff into German and to add my comment. I should greatly like to see Oecolampad's Treatise on Confession translated among you, in order that the papists may burst (with rage).

I am at work on my German Gospel-Postils, and shall promptly forward them to the press as soon as I shall have finished ten (sermons).

Since all is well with you, you have no need of me at all. And I am angry with you, because you are loading yourself with such great labors and will not listen when told that you must spare yourself. In this you allow your stubbornness to guide you. How often have I been dinning this into your ears! But just as often I have been telling a story to a deaf man.

As regards the authority of the sword, I still hold the same opinion as formerly.⁸⁾ I have the impression that you

3) The plague having broken out at Erfurt, Luther was prevented from carrying out his resolution.

4) See THEOL. QUARTERLY, vol. X, 59.

5) Prof. Hoppe proposes *indicium* for *judicium*.

6) Emser in his "Quadruplica" had attacked Luther. The latter in the end did reply, since no one was found willing to assume this task for him. See "Refutation of his error," etc. St. Louis Ed. XVIII, Introd., p. 41.

7) St. Louis Ed. XVIII, 960. Luther's translation of the *Determinatio* of the Parisians with a preface and epilogue at the same place, col. 932.

8) Luther here replies to the question which had been propounded to him, viz., whether the authority of the sword, or the civil magistrates, could be substantiated from the Gospel. Melancthon had denied this. Luther, as will be seen, holds that the Gospel approves and sanctions secular authority, but does not ordain it.

desire to be shown from the Gospel either a command or a suggestion in regard to this matter. I fully agree with you that an authority of this kind is neither commanded nor suggested in the Gospel, nor would it be at all proper (that either should have been done), inasmuch as the Gospel is a law to the willing and the free, who have nothing to do with the sword, or the authority of the sword.

But, on the other hand, this authority is not forbidden either, but rather confirmed and lauded, something that we do not read with regard to matters which are merely tolerated. For fasts and outward ceremonies are not commanded nor suggested in the Gospel, nor any concern about temporal affairs. Nor would it have been proper for the Gospel to make disposition regarding these matters, since it guides only the spirit in (the exercise of) his liberty. However, does this authority exist to the end that we should not make use of it? Yea, do not the exigencies of life require an authority of this sort and also its use?

Your argument would, indeed, apply beautifully, if all obeyed the Gospel. For inasmuch as the wicked are necessarily in the majority, how long would the Church subsist in this world, if the sword were withdrawn, since on account of the unbridled license of the wicked no one can be secure in the enjoyment of his life and possessions? However, you desire to be convinced not with arguments and statements based on certain improprieties which might possibly arise, but with Scripture.

I have stated before that, like many other things, the sword is neither commanded nor suggested, and yet it is extolled and confirmed, just as the right of marriage, which does not concern the Gospel either. For here you have John Baptist instructing the soldiers and saying: "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages," Luke 3, 14. Assuredly, if these people had no right to the power of the sword, he would have had to forbid its use to them; for they really put the same question which you pro-

pound, when they asked: "What shall we do?" Here you have, not the institution indeed, but the sanction of the military order. Don't you think that it will be much more difficult for you to reply to those who cite this passage against you than for them to make answer to you? Paul commands us 1 Tim. 2, 1 ff. to pray for those who are in authority, in accordance with the example of Jeremiah who commands the Jews (ch. 29, 7) to pray for the king of the Babylonians, and does not order them to pray against authorities as against something that either is forbidden or has no right of existence.

But you object: Those people were pagans. However, the prayer offered for them⁹⁾ was not to the effect that they might become believers, but that the Jews might be and remain at peace with them. You will not persuade me to believe that the apostles and prophets could have enjoined prayer for things which we may only suffer and tolerate. Else we should pray for robbers and, as you put it, for unrighteous tyrants, asking that they stay unrighteous.

Now, I shall not suffer you to reject Rom. 13, 1 ff. and 1 Pet. 2, 13,¹⁰⁾ claiming that they do not apply here and are meant merely as an instruction to subjects. This you shall not accomplish, Philip. These are God's words, and they express a great truth when they state: The powers that be are of God, and he resists the ordinance of God who resists the powers that be, and they are the ministers of God. You will not find proof to show that these words were spoken in reference to matters that are merely tolerated.

He is not a minister of God, but an enemy, who does injustice or imposes whatever he can on the patience of men, nor is anything that is merely suffered to exist a minister of God. It is one thing that we find recorded that He has excited one nation to war¹¹⁾ against the other, 2 Chron. 15, 6; Matt. 24, 7, *e. g.*, the king of Babylon against Tyre, and that He

9) *Orabatur for orabat* in MS. — Prof. H.

10) Instead of 1 Pet. 3, 13 in all editions. — Prof. H.

11) Prof. H. adopts De Wette's suggestion of *ad bellum for bellum*.

calls him His servant, Ezek. 26; Jer. 27, 6, and says that He "hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes," Jer. 51, 11. And it is quite another thing when we are told, Rom. 13 and 1 Tim. 2, that the powers that be are ordained for the sake of peace. For here wē are told¹²⁾ that they have been ordained to imbue men with fear when they do evil, and for the praise of them that do well; while in the former passages we are told that they are appointed for vengeance and to balance accounts for an evil work that has already been perpetrated.

Now what will you do when you read that Abraham, David, and the ancient saints have made the best use of the power of the sword, men of whom we are certain that they were of evangelical mind? Although they used it only for a time,¹³⁾ it is certainly not a pious act for people of an evangelical mind to place their interdict on the use of a matter which those men employed in a laudable manner, namely, the right to use the sword, all the more because it is neither revoked nor forbidden in the Gospel, but, as I stated, has been sanctioned, at least in behalf of such as were believers, namely, the soldiers who made inquiry of John.

Now, since Christ in the Gospel had to ordain divine and heavenly matters, it is small wonder that He did not ordain the power of the sword, which can easily be ordained by human creatures, and that meanwhile He treats it so as to show that, if it did not militate against the Gospel for Him to ordain it, He would have ordained it, since He praises and sanctions it now that it has been ordained, yea, He plainly teaches that it has been ordained by God.

Moreover, Peter (2. Ep. 2, 10) and Jude (v. 8) are indignant, because governments and dignities are being despised by Antichrist. Now, may we not despise unbridled license and unjust practices that are merely tolerated? But God requires

12) *dicitur* for *dicat*. — Prof. H.

13) In the editions cited the preceding clause is brought to a close at this place.

that to the institution named we should show honor and reverence; does He require the same for godless matters which are merely tolerated?

I am caught in these passages of Scripture, Philip, and should not know what to answer. Your view of this matter gives me much less satisfaction than mine ought to give you. You can cite no passage which rejects or interdicts or instructs us to flee secular government in any way whatsoever. I find it confirmed and praised in many ways, and represented as an institution that we should honor and commend to God in prayer, only its use is not directly commanded or suggested in the Gospel, just like marriage, family affairs, home discipline, town-rule, or any other government or management of temporal affairs.

Communicate to me if you receive light on this matter in any other way, but do it in such a manner as to prove that secular government is forbidden, that we must eschew it, or that it is merely tolerated. For Christ has said that power was given to Pilate from above, John 19, 11, I hold, however, that the statement in this place must be interpreted to mean that God does not bestow His gifts for an evil purpose. But let this suffice.

I congratulate Amsdorf on the increase of his revenue,¹⁴⁾ but still more because he is now fortunately to furnish an apostle. Now ye are full, ye reign as kings without us, 1 Cor. 4, 8, and I do not see why you should miss me so much, and in what respect you should be in need of my labors. It seems to me you are borrowing trouble,¹⁵⁾ for your affairs are in a better condition now that I am absent than when I was with you: you are lecturing, Amsdorf is lecturing, and Jonas is about to lecture.¹⁶⁾ Pray, would you have the kingdom of God to be proclaimed to you people alone? Must not the Gospel

14) Amsdorf had been elected pastor at Schmoelln, near Altenburg.

15) du scheinst dir selbst Gedanken zu machen.

16) Jonas had not yet arrived at Wittenberg to assume his professorship. See THEOL. QUARTERLY, vol. X, 188, note 6.

be brought to others also? Is your Antioch unwilling to furnish neither a Silas, nor a Paul, nor a Barnabas for some work of the Spirit? Acts 15, 34 f.

I tell you, although I should very much like to be with you, still in view of your present abundance I should not regard it as a hardship if the Lord graciously were to grant me a door for His Word either at Erfurt or at Cologne or elsewhere. Consider, pray, what a great harvest there is everywhere and that there are no laborers, Matt. 9, 37; you, however, are all laborers. We must surely consider, not ourselves, but our brethren who are scattered everywhere, lest we live unto ourselves, that is, unto the devil, and not unto Christ.

Accordingly, let us be careful not to be too carnally minded toward one another and to seek the presence of the body more than that of the Spirit. I am ready to go whithersoever the Lord wills, either to you or to some other place. As regards my return, I know nothing at all. You know with whom that rests.

Spalatin writes me that by order of the prince that part of the theses which treats confession was not debated, whereat I am quite extraordinarily displeased. I beseech you in the future always to anticipate the schemes which are being forged at the court, and do not follow them, as I have done heretofore. If I had followed their advice, not half of what has been done would have been accomplished. Those people are men just like we are.

I shall argue this matter with Spalatin. These things inflate our opponents and make them stubborn; moreover, they show that we are timid. Farewell! Somebody promised to carry this letter which I had just finished writing, but the party did not keep his promise. Pray for me, all of you, I beseech you; for I am being merged in sins in this solitude. From my wilderness, 1521, on St. Margaret's Day.¹⁷⁾

MARTIN LUTHER, *Bremite*.

(To be continued.)

17) July 13.

THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

VOL. XI.

JULY, 1907.

No. 3.

EVIDENCE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE LORD.

(Concluded.)

Friend and foe alike had been advised of the events which had transpired at Joseph of Arimathea's tomb. We have seen how the news stirred the malignant enemies of Christ and made them reckless and desperate. Also the small circle of the followers of Jesus must have been profoundly moved. An episode related by Luke affords a glimpse of the excitement which had seized the disciples. It may have been past the noon hour of this eventful day when two of the disciples started for a village in the neighborhood called Emmaus. Their conversation as they were walking betrayed agitation. They spoke of the report which the women had brought, and which had been verified by Peter and John, but do not mention the fact that the Lord had appeared to Mary Magdalene and later to her companions. What happened on the way and as they turned in at Emmaus is well known. They speed back to the city with the great news that they have been privileged to see the Lord and to converse with Him. That had been the third manifestation. On entering the place where the eleven and others were gathered, they are met with the report that the Lord had meanwhile appeared also to Simon. This is the only statement which Scripture makes of the fourth appearance, if it is the fourth; for it may have occurred immediately after Peter's visit at the grave, when Cleopas and his companion were just about to start for Emmaus. Cleopas relates not only the fact of the Lord's

appearance, but also the manner in which they had become assured that it was He, viz., by His discourse and His action at the table when He broke the bread, *i. e.*, when He reverently said grace as had been customary with Him in the days when they had been traveling with Him. While they were still relating their experience, Jesus suddenly has entered and greets them: "Peace be unto you!" Their first thought was that they were seeing a ghost. But He assures them, and invites them to certify to their own senses of sight and touch, that He is the bodily though glorified Christ. And when they still hesitated to credit their own vision, He condescends to take food before their eyes. Then followed a long peroration in which Christ convincingly showed that if He had not risen, there would be greater cause for wonder. That was the fifth manifestation, and that closed the events of the first Easter day.

The sixth appearance for the benefit of doubting Thomas, a week later, the seventh at Lake Tiberias to seven of the disciples, the eighth which had been previously announced on a mountain in Galilee, the ninth to James, which is merely mentioned in 1 Cor. 15, 7, the tenth on Mount Olive at the Lord's ascension — all these served to deepen the conviction which the disciples had received of the actual return to life of Jesus. An eleventh appearance of the Lord in His celestial body was later vouchsafed the apostle Paul near Damascus.

True, the accounts of the four evangelists which together make up the story of the resurrection, present some difficulties as regards details, and the harmonizing of these details has taxed the skill of interpreters not a little. But it is a very narrow mind which views divergent reports of an event as contradictory, and for that reason proposes that the event itself should be pronounced unreal. The government archives at Washington to-day contain accounts of battles fought during the late war between the States which are conflicting, and which to this day have not been reduced to absolute harmony. No one has undertaken on that account to deny the fact of those battles having been fought. In the same manner, from the

varying reports which we possess of the manner of the resurrection of the Lord, the fact of the resurrection stands out, silent and large. One witness has told this, the other that particular episode, but without the fact itself these details would have no base to rest upon. There is such a thing as cumulative evidence, and it is gathered by faithfully and painstakingly studying the very discrepancies of the depositions of witnesses.

Denying the fact of the Lord's resurrection is, accordingly, an undertaking which entails a great deal of labor and promises little success. Let us see briefly in what way this attempt has been made in recent years. The forces hostile to Christianity at first seemed to have agreed to explain the resurrection as a reawakening from a very deep coma or lethargy. Some have even grown romantic in their description. The body of Christ had been subjected to intense nervous suffering; at length the system collapsed. Christ became unconscious. Animation had ceased to such an extent that He was pronounced dead. A seeming corpse, He was taken from the cross and removed to a secluded spot in Joseph's garden, and laid away. The perfect quiet of the tomb and the cool temperature, together with the aroma of strong spices had a most salutary soothing effect on the nerves. The tension gradually relaxed, and vitality reappeared. Finally, Christ left the tomb, the frightened guards fled spreading a false report to cover their cowardice, and His disciples received the reawakened Lord as resurrected. This version used to be applauded in lecture halls and taverns as a marvelous piece of ingenuity. The medical science was appealed to and gave it sanction. The learned M. D.'s said: "It is likely it was so; why should it not be so? Of course, it was so!" *Quod erat demonstrandum*. And men marveled at the *Fortschritt der Wissenschaft*. But when the specious theory was tested as to its reasonableness, when it came to be investigated systematically and measured against the accounts of the resurrection, it was found to be an explanation that does not explain. In the first place, there was the test which had been applied in a rude manner by the soldier's lance to prove the Lord's

death. These soldiers also knew that physical state which medical science has denominated syncope. They knew that crucified malefactors sometimes swooned upon the cross. Hence the crurifragium, which was applied in such cases to prevent the burying of a person alive. In the case of Jesus even the soldier considered the crurifragium unnecessary, but—to quote Canon Farrar—“as the lives of the soldiers would have had to answer for any irregularity, one of them, in order to make death certain, drove the broad head of his hasta into His side. The wound, as it was meant to do, pierced the region of the heart, and ‘forthwith,’ says St. John, with an emphatic appeal to the truthfulness of his eyewitness (an appeal which would be singularly and impossibly blasphemous if the narrative were the forgery which so much elaborate modern criticism has wholly failed to prove that it is), ‘forthwith came there out blood and water.’ Whether the water was due to some abnormal pathological conditions caused by the dreadful complication of the Savior’s sufferings—or whether John rather means that the pericardium had been rent by the spear-point, and that those who took down the body observed some drops of its serum mingled with the blood—in either case that lance thrust was sufficient to hush all the heretical assertions that Jesus had only *seemed* to die; and as it assured the soldiers, so should it assure all who have doubted, that He, who on the third day rose again, had in truth been crucified, dead, and buried, and that His soul had passed into the unseen world.” (*Life of Christ*, p. 664 f.) In a footnote, which shows how earnestly and thoroughly this syncope-theory of skeptics has been investigated, Dr. Farrar says: “The early fathers all appeal to this fact (of the spear thrust) in refutation of the Docetae. As the effusion of lymph and blood after a *post mortem* incision, though rare, is asserted by some physicians not to be unknown, there seems to be no need to regard the fact as miraculous. Opinions are divided as to whether the water was merely the lymph of the pericardium, or the decomposed crasamentum and serum of extravasated blood. That the cir-

cumstance is not impossible . . . may be regarded as proved by the letters of Sir J. Simpson and other eminent physicians to Dr. Hanna (*Last Day of Our Lord's Passion*, pp. 333—343), as well as by the book of Dr. Stroud, *On the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ.*" (Ibid., p. 665.)

Besides the investigation of enemies as to the reality of the death of Christ, there is the one by His friends who handled the corpse for several hours and detected no sign of life. But suppose we should admit the theory of syncope, for the sake of the argument, what follows? Of course, this follows, that sooner or later Christ must have really died. For our skeptics deny the ascension just as well as the resurrection. What became of Him after He had left the grave? How were His disciples able to uphold the claim that He had risen, which they knew to be false? These questions point out difficulties so great that we do not wonder that the advocates of the syncope theory have with more or less grace withdrawn their theory. Says Dr. Uhlhorn:

"One solution is regarded generally as a failure; yea, although it was widely received formerly and counted among its advocates men like Schleiermacher, it is now covered with contempt and scorn everywhere. I refer to the opinion that all that is real in the resurrection of Jesus is His reawaking from syncope. It is claimed that He was not actually dead, but had sunk into a deep and deathlike sleep, out of which He was awakened by the cool atmosphere of the tomb and the timely aid of concealed friends (whom the old school of rationalists love to introduce at the critical moment in order to give a natural explanation to an apparent miracle!). Having been thus revived, Jesus showed Himself to His disciples. No elaborate argument is required to show that this view is untenable. It disregards fully certified facts, not only the fact of His death, which rationalists have questioned only in order that they might make their explanation of His resurrection an easier task, but also the manifestations of the Risen Lord which have been recorded. It is altogether insufficient

to explain the origin of faith in His resurrection. Strauss speaks to the point when he says: 'A being that has just crawled out of the grave, half-dead, groping about sick, in need of medical treatment, of surgical attention, of restoratives,—such a person could not possibly have impressed the disciples as a conqueror of death and the grave, as the Prince of Life, as which they represented Him later in their public deliverances. Such a person could not possibly have changed their despondency into enthusiasm.' As I have stated, this view has become obsolete. I should hardly have mentioned it, if it were not in our interest to show by its means what is the usual fate of such theories. In their day they are lauded as truly scientific and as the only tenable views, and after a few decades they are mentioned with a pitying smile as antiquarian rarities." (*Auferstehungsgesch.*, p. 186 f.)

Strauss, accordingly, proceeded to disprove the reality of the Lord's resurrection by a different theory, and was ably seconded by another skeptic, Holsten. This theory we may name the vision-theory. It amounts to this: Christ did not really rise; nor did the disciples behold a real though glorified being, but they really and truly believed they had seen Him; for their overwrought nerves had conjured up His image before them. They beheld Him with the eye of the mind, and not being in a condition to critically examine their own state of mind, they were quite honest in declaring as a fact what had really been an optical illusion. This theory was popularized later by a Frenchman, Renan, who calls Mary Magdalene "the visionary woman who presented the world with a risen God." Renan's remarks are mere shallow vaporings dazzling and deceiving only by the brilliant style in which they are expressed. Renan earned a great deal of French applause, but his effort soon effervesced like the wine of his country. But the ponderous and scientific reasoning of the Germans threatened to outlive the ephemeral idea of the Frenchman. For a while the vision-theory began to look like something formidable.

Let us look at it. How do visions originate, and what is

a vision? It is agreed by all who are able to express a professional opinion on the matter that visions, hallucinations, are an indication of disturbances of the mind and are superinduced and intensified by secondary causes of a physical nature. The visionary has had his mind engrossed with a certain idea; his mental activity has become centered upon it to such an extent that he becomes separated from the world of real life. He wanders off from himself. He is absorbed in the pursuit of the one idea. He lives only in it and for it. His nerves are being subjected to great tension; his mental excitement quickens pulsation; his circulation becomes accelerated. Heart and brain become affected, and the nerves, already irritated, are put under still greater pressure. At length there rises before the mind's eye the image of what the mind had been occupied with. The thoughts have assumed shape. The physical eye beholds and the physical ear hears what before had been visible and audible only to the soul. Such is a vision.

Now, there are two features connected with the phenomena of visions which are fatal to the vision-theory of our Lord's resurrection. In the first place, a vision is not the presentation of something new, it is not a creation by the mind of something which had not existed before, but it is merely a vivid representation of what was *in* the mind, the reproduction of the mind's thoughts. The visionary must have believed, must have believed ardently and enthusiastically, what he sees, some time before he sees it. Skeptics, people who weigh coolly, who are hostilely inclined toward an idea, have no vision of that idea incorporated to them. In the second place, the visionary state, unless it runs into confirmed insanity, is followed by a reaction. The return to normal conditions is like the awakening out of a very vivid dream. The phantasmagoria vanishes as soon as the world of matter and of fact asserts its power again upon the senses.

Now apply these truths to the apostles' belief that they had seen the Risen Lord. Was it possible, were the conditions such that their minds, after they had returned from Calvary,

constantly revolved around this single idea that Jesus must rise? Did they, from Friday evening until Sunday dawn, work themselves up to a frenzy of expectation of His return from the grave? If so, on what did they base that expectation? On His own prophecy? Why, they had so utterly lost sight of it that the risen Christ had to chide them quite severely for having forgotten it. No, their mental state was the very reverse of hopeful expectancy; it was blank despair; they were sadly, stupidly mourning a lost cause. And when the first news reached them of the resurrection that had actually taken place it was met with extreme skepticism. They regarded it as "idle tales," Luke 24, 11. Yea, when the Risen Lord bodily stood before them, they eyed Him with critical glances; they thought of ghosts and specters, but never of a being actually risen from the grave. Every predisposition for a vision is utterly wanting in these men.

And then consider the number of people to whom the Risen Lord appeared. On three occasions there was only one, at another time there were two, at another more than three, on another occasion seven, on two occasions more than eleven; on two other there was a multitude of men and women who saw Him and heard Him speak. No doubt, like in any great crowd of men there was also in these people the usual difference of temperament. Some may have been very impressible, easily excited, but there were also calm, slow, coolly observing natures present. Consider furthermore that these appearances were not the work of a few moments, or of five, ten, fifteen minutes, but they extended, at least on a number of occasions, through several hours, perhaps at the meeting in Galilee they took in the greater part of a day. Is it reasonable to suppose that the nervous tension which is always a requisite, should support a vision extended through such an unheard-of space of time? Consider, in the third place, that the localities at which these visions occurred were always different, except in two instances. They occurred in the open and indoors, on mountains and on the shore of a lake, yea, on a country road during a journey.

Some time elapsed between each vision. The scenery, the environments in which they occurred were constantly changing. The parties who received the visions had even returned to their ordinary occupation and were engaged in fishing. I ask again, Is it reasonable to suppose that five hundred men and women of various dispositions were for forty consecutive days walking about from Jerusalem to Lake Tiberias and back again, were eating, drinking, conversing, plying their trade, retiring at night and rising in the morning—all in a trance? Or that they were, within those forty days, passing from one trance into another, with a few lucid intervals? If anyone can believe this theory, he should not find it very difficult to accept the resurrection itself.

Uhlhorn has examined the vision-theory closely, and has observed how the advocates of the theory have shifted their ground during the discussion. They seem to have felt that the time which intervened between the burial and the resurrection of the Lord is too brief to justify the assumption of conditions favorable to the full development of a vision. Accordingly, they applied their theory first to Paul, the last person to whom Christ manifested Himself. From Paul they worked backward to the earlier disciples. But even in Paul's case the theory failed. "Nobody who compares without bias Paul's own reports of his visions of the Lord, can fail to observe the most important point, viz., that Paul speaks in an altogether different strain of the Christophany which he beheld near Damascus from that in which he relates his later visions. It is plain that he speaks of the latter with great reluctance; it is only under constraint of his opponents that he alludes to them. They represent a portion of his hidden life which he is loath to unveil. However, of the former he speaks quite frankly; he appeals to it on several occasions, and no doubt, the story of this Christophany was part of his public teaching. Moreover, whenever Paul recounts his later visions, he plainly describes his physical condition at the time as one of rapture, ecstasy. Whether he was in the body or out of the

body, he cannot tell. No such remark occurs in his accounts of the manifestation of the Risen Lord. There he states simply: 'He was seen by me;' 'I have seen the Lord.' Add to this that Paul describes his experience near Damascus as an extraordinary occurrence which was never repeated in later years either to himself or to others; for we must remember that in his enumeration of Christophanies he mentions the one vouchsafed to himself as the last one, notwithstanding he had seen and spoken with the Lord on later occasions; and that he bases his authority as an apostle on this Christophany, while visions were granted also to people who were not apostles,—and you will not be able to escape the impression that Paul distinguishes consciously between his later visions and the Christophany. I am not jumping at the conclusion that, because Paul did not regard the Christophany granted him as a vision, therefore it cannot have been a vision. Such a conclusion could, indeed, be met by saying that visionaries never are conscious that what they behold has no corresponding existence in objective reality, on the contrary, since the vision impresses them altogether as an objective reality, they cannot but regard it as such. I draw only this conclusion, and I believe that I am justified in doing so, viz., that Paul has received a different impression of either event, and that his physical status must also have been different on either occasion. And I hold that this observation is anything but favorable,—not to use a stronger expression,—to the assumption of a vision." (*Auferstehungsgesch.*, p. 191 f.) "In the case of Paul the historian had at his disposal a considerable time which he might fill out with accounts of internal struggles that ultimately conjured up the vision, but in the case of the early disciples he is given only three days. In less than three days, in little more than twice twenty-four hours, from Friday evening to Sunday, the vast change must have been accomplished from the deepest grief of utter hopelessness to plenary, joyous, vision-producing faith, from that state which is indicated in the remark: 'We trusted, that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel' to that other state which

is expressed in the words: 'The Lord is risen indeed!' Strauss has felt that this would be utterly impossible. Accordingly, he endeavors by all means to gain time in which to account for this change. He pretends that the disciples, without having seen the Lord, had fled to Galilee, and that while they were there, the change took place gradually. Holsten has openly confessed that this assumption of Strauss is injudicious. The original records of the resurrection contain in very decided terms as an integral part of the account this fact, that it occurred 'on the third day.' If the earliest manifestations of the Lord occurred at a much later date, how could the disciples have hit upon the third day as the day of the Lord's resurrection? The manifestations of the Lord must have commenced on the third day; that is a historical fact. To question this fact would be an arbitrary proceeding." (Ibid., p. 201.) "I wish to lay special stress on the Christophany granted to the five hundred brethren. You will remember that certain physical and psychical conditions are prerequisites for engendering a vision. . . . Is it safe to assume that these conditions are found to exist in more than five hundred persons, and that at the same time? For Paul states distinctly 'that He was seen of above five hundred brethren *at once*.' . . . Ponder what it means (to assume the above conditions in all these persons), and you will concede that it is not possible. Accordingly, Strauss at this point abandons the vision-theory and speaks only of a delusion practiced upon the excited imagination of the disciples. He relates, by way of illustration, that in the days when Duke Ulrich of Wuerttemberg was driven from his country by the Suabian League, people in many places pretended that they had seen him and even that they had lodged him in disguise at their houses. Similar delusions, he claims, occurred in this instance." (Ibid., p. 205.)

However, the vision-theory has overlooked one fact, which Uhlhorn also mentions, but which was urged with great force a long time ago by a Christian apologist of England, and which beautifully settles the entire vision-theory on the horns of a dilemma.

Dr. Paley says: "The only points which can enter into our consideration are, whether the apostles knowingly published a falsehood, or whether they were themselves deceived; whether either of these suppositions be possible. The first, I think, is pretty generally given up. The nature of the undertaking, and of the men; the extreme unlikelihood that such men should engage in such a manner as a *scheme*; their personal toils, and dangers, and sufferings, in the cause; their appropriation of their whole time to the object; the warm and seemingly unaffected zeal and earnestness with which they profess their sincerity, exempt their memory from the suspicion of imposture. The solution more deserving of notice is that which would resolve the conduct of the apostles into *enthusiasm*, which would class the evidence of Christ's resurrection with the numerous stories that are extant of the apparitions of dead men. There are circumstances in the narrative, as it is preserved in our histories, which destroy this comparison entirely. It was not one person, but many, who saw Him; they saw Him not only separately, but together; not only by night, but by day; not at a distance, but near; not once, but several times; they not only saw Him, but touched Him, conversed with Him, ate with Him, examined His person to satisfy their doubts. These particulars are decisive: but they stand, I do admit, upon the credit of our records. I would answer, therefore, the insinuation of enthusiasm, by a circumstance which arises out of the nature of the thing, and the reality of which must be confessed by all who allow, what I believe is not denied, that the resurrection of Christ, whether true or false, was asserted by His disciples from the beginning; and that circumstance is, *the non-production of the dead body*. It is related in the history, what indeed the story of the resurrection necessarily implies, that the corpse was missing out of the sepulcher: it is related also, in the history, that the Jews reported that the followers of Christ had stolen it away. And this account, though loaded with great improbabilities, such as the situation of the disciples, their fears for their own safety at the time,

the unlikelihood of their expecting to succeed, the difficulty of actual success,¹⁾ and the inevitable consequence of detection and failure, was, nevertheless, the most credible account that could be given of the matter. But it proceeds entirely upon the supposition of fraud, as all the old objections did. What account can be given of the *body*, upon the supposition of enthusiasm? It is impossible our Lord's followers could believe that He was risen from the dead, if His corpse was lying before them. No enthusiasm ever reached to such a pitch of extravagance as that: a spirit may be an illusion; a body is a real thing, an object of sense, in which there can be no mistake. All accounts of specters leave the body in the grave. And, although the body of Christ might be removed by *fraud*, and for the purposes of fraud, yet without any such intention, and by sincere but deluded men (which is the representation of the apostolic character we are now examining), no such attempt could be made. The presence and the absence of the dead body are alike inconsistent with the hypothesis of enthusiasm; for, if present, it must have cured their enthusiasm at once; if absent, fraud, not enthusiasm, must have carried it away." (*Evidences of Christianity*, p. 302 ff.)²⁾

1) "Especially at the full moon, the city full of people, many probably passing the whole night, as Jesus and His disciples had done, in the open air, the sepulcher so near the city as to be now enclosed within the walls." (*Priestley on the Resurr.*, p. 24.)

2) The ancient falsehood that the body of Christ was removed secretly by designing persons is still abroad. While these lectures were being delivered during the Easter season, 1906, the leading morning daily of this city was publishing seriatim in its Sunday edition Guy Thorne's novel, "When it was dark." The leading idea of this piece of modern fiction seems to have been dramatized and staged at Paris, however, *leaving out the author's motif and denouement*. We gather this from the Paris letter of "Jessica Sykes" to the *London Saturday Review*, which was copied in the Sunday edition of one of our morning dailies while this article was going through the press. The letter is dated London, April 27, this year, and bears the title "Eastertide in Paris, 1907." The time referred to in the following clipping is Good Friday evening: — "In the evening I went to the Odeon Theater, which was, through the instrumentality of M. Briand when Minister of Public Instruction, turned into a national theater on the same lines as the Theatre Français (with a large Government subsidy),

In conclusion, we may exhibit, as the last evidence of our Lord's resurrection, a matter which I propose to name: *the power of conscience*, of the conscience of people living at the time when our Lord rose. Conscience then, as it always has, exerted itself in two ways, by accusing and by excusing, by crushing the sinner with that awful force, the consciousness of guilt, and by supporting an upright person in a struggle for a cause which he knows to be right beyond contradiction. I introduce, in the first place, the evil conscience.

The chief priests and Pharisees are standing once more before Pilate after that eventful Friday. "Sir," they say, "we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again." Let us note incidentally that these Jews publicly attest the death of Christ, when they say: "While He was yet alive." They were not troubled about His having been actually put to death, but what troubled them was the fear that He might not remain dead. The word of

for the ostensible purpose of producing plays that would elevate and instruct the people. The theater was packed from floor to ceiling, and the audience included a very considerable number of children. The advertised performance was an ancient and very beautiful 'mystery' of the Fifteenth Century, describing the 'Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.' But before playing the 'mystery,' a drama entitled 'Joseph of Arimathaea' was produced. This drama, in three acts, admirably staged and admirably acted, was nothing more or less than an elaborate denial of the resurrection, giving as an explanation that Joseph of Arimathaea, fearing that the Jewish leaders might profane the body of Christ, stole it away from the tomb on the Sabbath day following the crucifixion and buried it in his own secret cellar. The holy women and the apostles, finding the tomb empty, believe their Lord has risen. Joseph of Arimathaea leaves them in this pious delusion, and so the Christian faith and the legend of the resurrection is started. 'Follies of women, ignorance of peasants,' is Joseph of Arimathaea's judgment on the subject. Following this blasphemous production came the 'mystery,' also played to perfection, but played with the intention to show that the religious history therein described was purely a myth, founded upon the incidents given in the previous play. The audience never murmured at any of the sentiments conveyed in either play, and applauded the sacred character and his disciples alike. I do not believe in any other country in Europe or America such a performance would have been tolerated for a moment, and I think the actors would have been roughly handled."

Jesus haunted them. Their memory was better than the disciples'. They had not been able to rid themselves of the recollection of those memorable words which Jesus three years ago had spoken in their city: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up!" They had heard of His great sermon at Capernaum, of His declaration at Lazarus' tomb, that He was the resurrection and the life. They remembered that He had referred them to Jonas' being three days in the belly of a fish, and had predicted that He would likewise be three days in the bowels of the earth. Nor had they forgotten that confident assertion of Christ: "No man taketh my life from me; I lay it down of myself; I have power to lay it down and to take it again." Yes, numerous had been the predictions which this Christ had made of His resurrection, so numerous that we cannot so much wonder at their recalling the fact as at His disciples forgetting it.

Diplomatic Pilate grants the request: he had given the body to Jesus' friends, he turns over the sepulcher to Jesus' enemies, thus serving both sides. However, he takes care not to identify himself too openly with the fears of the Jews. He directs them to make choice of as many guards as they deemed necessary from the guard at the citadel of Antonia. "Ye have a watch: go your way," he says, and adds the remark: "Make it as sure as ye can." There is something of the spirit of banter in this remark. This pagan cynic views with contempt the frantic efforts to prevent the rising of a dead man. Others, however, take a different view of this remark: they point out that by this time Pilate, no doubt, had received the report of the centurion on Golgotha, and was impressed with the awe-inspiring circumstances of Christ's death. In that case, his remark would express his personal fear.

In spite of all precautions taken, Christ rose. We have heard to what extreme measure the Jewish council had recourse in order to overcome the effect of the news of His resurrection. We have seen that the story which they invented bore collusion on its face. We have also investigated the possibility of a grave-

robbery perpetrated by the disciples, and have found that it does not exist. But one point should still be exhibited with regard to this suborned testimony: this testimony of the soldiers publicly charged the disciples with criminal conduct. The way was thereby opened up to the Council to institute legal proceedings against the disciples who had been charged with a grave misdemeanor. And their authority to try them on this charge was undisputed. They had at their disposal the entire power of the Roman State for the discovery of the criminals, and they were not without sufficient means to inflict condign punishment on the guilty. Now, why did they not arrest and prosecute the disciples? We know that they were ready to coerce them a few weeks later, and that they did not hesitate to employ most rigorous measures to suppress their preaching. How can their inactivity, their supineness be explained in the hour when prompt action would at once have quelled the rising report, when the disciples themselves were still wavering, and the prospect of being harshly dealt with might have completely cowed them into submission? Behold here the power of conscience! These men knew that they had no case against Christ. They were not sure of the bribed guards. They dreaded a clashing of testimony. They trembled at the thought that the disciples, if placed on the witness stand, might offer testimony so incontrovertible that no ingenuity would be able to overthrow it. Yea, was it not possible that this Risen Lord, whose body was missing from the sealed tomb, might that moment be abroad, might enter the very hall of justice, and might strike terror and dismay into His accusers as He had done to His captors at Gethsemane with His majestic: "I am he"? This is what paralyzed these crafty men. All that they wished to obtain was a ruse to tide them over a momentary difficulty. A lie would answer that purpose, and so they spread the lie, and hid behind it, until the lie, too, was torn from them. Says Horne in his *Introduction*: "Why did not the sanhedrim have recourse to the methods ordinarily employed to discover criminals? They

were very ready, by menaces, torments, and persecutions, to oblige the apostles *not* to preach in the name of Jesus Christ; but they never accused them (*i. e.*, they never accused them to their face) of having stolen the body of their Master while the watch slept. On that investigation they durst not enter because they well knew what the soldiers had told them, and it was that very thing which made them so apprehensive. If there had been any suspicion that His disciples were in possession of the dead body, these rulers, for their own credit, would have imprisoned them, and used means to recover it, which would have quashed the report of the resurrection for ever." (I, 109 a.)

However, someone might feel inclined to explain the inactivity of the Jewish council by their momentary consternation which prevented them from considering the matter coolly and from taking calm steps to recover both the body and the robbers of the body. They simply may not have thought of it. Let us assume that this was the case. But their consternation cannot have lasted longer than a day or two. Men, especially crafty men, have been known to rally much sooner from a moral blow. But weeks passed, and no action was taken. Many disciples went from Jerusalem to Galilee to meet Christ, returned, and saw Him ascend from Mount Olive. Still no action was taken. Another ten days passed, and still the Jewish council maintained a discreet silence. The great Jewish festival of Pentecost arrived. We know what happened to stir the representatives of the civilized earth, and how in one day three thousand persons joined the society of the disciples. Still no action on the part of the sanhedrim. Now Peter and John begin to preach the Risen Christ in the very halls of the Jewish sanctuary. Yes, now there is action, and now observe the actors.

"In the fourth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles we are informed that the sanhedrim caused the apostles to be brought before them for preaching, in the name of Christ, the doctrines

of Christianity, and for affirming that Christ was risen from the dead. Had they believed that the apostles had stolen away the body of Christ, they would now certainly have charged them with this gross fraud, this direct rebellion against the Roman and Jewish governments, and unless they could have cleared themselves of the crime, would have punished them for it with, at least, due severity. Such punishment would not only have been just, but it had now become necessary for the sanhedrim to inflict it, in order to save their own reputation. They had originated the story, and were now under the strongest inducements to support it. Yet they did not even mention the subject, but contented themselves with commanding them to preach no more in the name of Christ.

"In the following chapter we are told that the whole body of the apostles was brought before them again, for continuing to preach, in opposition to this command. On this occasion, also, they maintained a profound silence concerning the theft which they had originally attributed to the apostles, but charged them with disobedience to their former injunctions. In this charge are contained the following remarkable words: Did we not straitly command you that ye should not teach in this name? and behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us. (Acts 5, 28.)" (Horne, *Introd.* I, 109.)

This is a peculiar expression, "to bring a man's blood upon someone." It is a phrase of frequent occurrence in Scripture, and has a definite meaning. "In fifteen different instances³⁾ in which we find it used it has but a single meaning, viz., to bring the guilt of contributing to the death of a person, or the guilt of murder upon another person." (Horne, *l. c.*)

"When it is said, 'His blood shall be upon his own head,' it is clearly intended that the guilt of his death shall be upon himself. When, therefore, the sanhedrim accuse the apostles

3) Lev. 20, 9. 11. 13. 16. 27; Deut. 19, 10; 22, 8; 2 Sam. 1, 16; 16, 8; 1 Kings 2, 37; Jer. 51, 35; Ezek. 18, 13; 33, 5; Matt. 23, 35; Acts 18, 6.

of attempting to bring the blood of Christ upon *them*, they accuse them of an intention to bring upon them the guilt of shedding His blood: this being the only meaning of such phraseology in the Scriptures.

"Should any doubt remain in the mind of any man concerning this interpretation, it may be settled, beyond all question, by recurring to the following passage. In Matt. 27, 24. 25 we are told that when Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing towards releasing Christ, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it: and that then all the people answered, and said, His blood be on us, and on our children. The meaning of the phraseology in this passage cannot be mistaken; and it is altogether probable that the declaration of the sanhedrim being made so soon after this imprecation to the apostles, so deeply interested in the subject, and on an occasion which so naturally called it up to view, the sanhedrim referred to it directly.

"But if Christ was not raised from the dead, He was a false prophet, an impostor, and, of course, a blasphemer; because He asserted Himself to be the Messiah, the Son of God. Such a blasphemer the Law condemned to death. The sanhedrim were the very persons to whom the business of trying and condemning Him was committed by that Law, and whose duty it was to accomplish His death. If, therefore, His body was not raised from the dead, there was no guilt in shedding His blood, but the mere performance of a plain duty. His blood, that is, the guilt of shedding it, could not possibly rest on the sanhedrim; nor, to use their language, be brought upon them by the apostles, nor by any others. All this the sanhedrim perfectly knew; and, therefore, had they not believed Him to have risen from the dead, they never could have used this phraseology.

"It is further to be observed that on both these occasions the apostles boldly declared to the sanhedrim, in the most explicit terms, that Christ was raised from the dead. Yet the

sanhedrim not only did not charge them with the crime of having stolen His body, but did not contradict, nor even comment on, the declaration. This could not possibly have happened through inattention. Both the sanhedrim and the apostles completely knew that the resurrection of Christ was the point on which His cause, and their opposition to it, entirely turned. It was the great and serious controversy between the contending parties; and yet, though directly asserted to their faces by the apostles, the sanhedrim did not even utter a syllable on the subject. Had they believed their own story, they would either have punished the apostles with death as rebels against the Jewish and Roman governments, or else they would have confined them as lunatics." (Horne, l. c.)

It was their evil consciences that had sealed their lips to the former charge. These men felt that an almighty power had taken them in their craftiness, and Gamaliel's speech at one of their sessions shows that they had ceased to believe in their own cause.

And now we turn for a few moments to the other actors in this event, the holy apostles, and consider the proof which a good conscience has offered for our Lord's resurrection. When these men parted after the angels' communication on Mount Olive, their hearts were firm in the belief that they were chosen to be the bearers of great and good tidings to the world. Luke relates that during the forty days' sojourn Christ had revealed Himself to them "by many infallible proofs." The proofs were not only infallible in themselves, but they had also rendered the expositors of these proofs convinced and thereby convincing.

"If Jesus Christ did not rise from the dead, it is impossible to account for the striking contrast between the pusillanimous conduct of the prejudiced apostles during their Master's life and the fearlessly courageous conduct of the same apostles after His resurrection.

"During the life of Christ we see them limited in their conceptions; confounded by whatever was spiritual and sub-

lime in their Master's doctrine; prepossessed by the idea which then prevailed among the Jewish people, that the Law of Moses and the temple at Jerusalem were to subsist forever; full of prejudices concerning the nature of Messiah's kingdom; disputing for the chief place in it, at the very time when Jesus Christ was discoursing to them concerning His death as an obstacle to His reign and an indelible opprobrium. If the apostles had always retained the character which they exhibit in the Gospels, it cannot be doubted but that Christianity would have been buried in the tomb of its Founder.

"But let us prosecute our inquiries, and study the Acts of the Apostles. The narrative commences where the evangelical history terminates, viz., *after* the death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ. There we behold the apostles endued with the profoundest knowledge of the Gospel, emancipated from all their obstinate prejudices, notwithstanding these were founded on national self-love, on religious zeal, and on the dazzling prospects which they had conceived for themselves. They have forever renounced all their gross ideas of earthly elevation; and it is evident that they fully understood that the kingdom which they were commissioned to establish was a spiritual kingdom,—that the Jewish nation were no longer the peculiarly favored people of God,—that the Levitical worship was about to cease,—that the religion which they preached was to be common to *all* nations,—and that they considered their Master's death in its true point of view, as the best means of proving the truth of His divine mission, as the foundation of the covenant of grace, the most powerful motive to holiness, and His resurrection as the pledge of our resurrection.

"*During* the life of Christ we see them in a state of uncertainty, incessantly asking for new proofs, exciting impatience by the nature of their questions, and deserving their Master's reproach of being persons 'of little faith.' Only fifty days *after* His death we see them decided, convinced, persuaded, speaking with that noble firmness which is inspired by a thor-

ough conviction and knowledge of the truth, delivering the doctrine which they taught as certain and indubitable, as resting upon facts which all their senses had witnessed. No more fluctuation — no more doubt — no more uncertainty. We know is their expression 'That which *we* have seen with our eyes, which *we* have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of Life . . . declare we unto you,' 1 John 1, 1. 3; and they announce it with a tone of authority which well became the ambassadors of heaven, but which was ill suited to persons in their condition and of their education.

"*Before* their Master's death we see them cowardly, trembling, timid in the extreme, feeble sheep, who were scattered the moment their Shepherd was smitten. *After* that event they became altogether new men: firm, courageous, and intrepid; they astonished Judea, Greece, and Asia Minor by their doctrine, and by their eloquence. They spoke before the people; they spoke before the tribunals of justice and also to kings, with singular boldness and freedom. They confounded the wisdom of the Areopagus; they made a proconsul tremble on his throne; and they extorted from a king, before whom they were accused, a public acknowledgment of their innocence. That very apostle who had been so intimidated by the voice of a female servant that he denied his Master, a few days after His death, when they were summoned before the very same magistrates who had caused Him to be crucified, dared to reproach them to their face with having put to death 'the Holy One and the Just, the Prince of Life.' The menaces of their judges dismayed them not. 'Whether it be right in the sight of God,' they said, 'to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye, for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard,' Acts 4, 19. 20. They braved the hatred, and they triumphed over all the power of the synagogue. Unappalled by torments, they rejoiced to be deemed worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus. Labors most abundant, perilous journeys, pains both in body and in mind, renunciation of all property, resignation to every evil, nay, even the

sacrifice of their lives — they accounted nothing hard or difficult. And (which is most astonishing of all) this courage was not a sudden burst of transient enthusiasm: it never relaxed for an instant, notwithstanding the numerous and diversified trials to which they were exposed: on the contrary, it was manifested for many years, and finally was crowned by a violent death.

“If from their public conduct as related in the Acts of the Apostles, we turn to the epistles or letters written by these men after their Master’s resurrection, we shall find their whole souls laid open. What noble and elevated sentiments do we read in them! What courage, yet what resignation! What holy joy amid the dangers which menaced them, and the evils that befell them! What profoundness in their doctrine! What sublime and affecting instructions! What tender solicitude for the rising churches! What ardent charity for all men, — yea, even for their persecutors!

“How was so sudden and so marvelous a change wrought in the apostles? Is it possible to conceive such striking differences in the same individuals? They were less than men, they became more than heroes. But the notion that the Gospel is the invention of man assigns no cause for this strange revolution, which, however, may be readily comprehended and accounted for, if Jesus be the Messiah, and if, according to His promise, He poured down upon them the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

“In short, the conclusion resulting from the striking contrast in the conduct of the apostles, *before* and *after* their Master’s death, is so convincing and persuasive, that, even if the apostles had not informed us that they had received extraordinary gifts, it is impossible to conceive how any other means can or could be imagined which can account for that astonishing difference.” (Horne, l. c., p. 113.)

“Providence continued Jerusalem forty years after the resurrection of Christ, that all the Jews in the then known world might examine the evidence concerning it, and obtain

authentic proof of the truth of Christianity. The apostles, we repeat, maintained the resurrection of Jesus Christ before Jews and pagans, before philosophers and rabbis, before courtiers, before lawyers, before people who were expert in examining and cross-examining witnesses, in order to lead them into self-contradiction. Had the apostles borne their testimony in consequence of a preconceived plot between themselves, is it not morally certain, that as they were examined before such different and capable men, some one would have discovered the pretended fraud?

"If the apostles had first published this resurrection several years after the time which they assigned for it, unbelief might have availed itself of the delay. But only three days after the crucifixion of Christ they declared that He was risen again, and they recchoed their testimony in a singular manner at the feast of Pentecost, when Jerusalem expected the spread of the report and endeavored to prevent it, while the eyes of their enemies were yet sparkling with rage and madness, and while Calvary was yet dyed with the blood they had shed there. Do impostors take such measures? Would they not have waited till the fury of the Jews had been appeased; till the judges and public officers had been changed; and till the people had been less attentive to their depositions?

"Had they published this event in distant countries beyond mountains and seas, it might have been supposed that distance of place rendering it extremely difficult for their hearers to obtain exact information had facilitated the establishment of the error. But the apostles preached in Jerusalem, in the synagogues, in the pretorium: they unfolded and displayed the banners of their Master's cross, and set up tokens of His victory, in the very spot on which the infamous instrument of His sufferings had been set up.

"It was not to acquire fame, riches, glory, or profit:—by no means. On the contrary, they exposed themselves to sufferings and death, and proclaimed the truth from a conviction of its importance and certainty." (Horne, l. c., p. 113.)

“Everywhere they were hated, calumniated, despised, hunted from city to city, cast into prison, scourged, stoned, and crucified. And for what were all these excruciating sufferings endured? Gain, honor, and pleasure are the only gods to which impostors bow. But of these the apostles acquired, and plainly labored to acquire, neither. What, then, was the end for which they suffered? Let the infidel answer this question. As they gained nothing, and lost everything, in the present world, so it is certain that they must expect to gain nothing, and suffer everything, in the world to come. That the Old Testament was the Word of God, they certainly believed without a single doubt. But in this book *lying* is exhibited as a supreme object of the divine abhorrence, and the scriptural threatenings. From the invention and propagation of this falsehood, therefore, they could expect nothing hereafter but the severest effusions of the anger of God. — For what, then, was all this loss, danger, and suffering incurred? For the privilege of telling an extravagant and incredible story to mankind, and of founding upon it a series of exhortations to repentance, faith, and holiness; to the renunciation of sin, and the universal exercise of piety, justice, truth, and kindness; to the practice of all that conduct which common sense has ever pronounced to be the duty, honor, and happiness of man; and the avoidance of all that which it has ever declared to be his guilt, debasement, and misery? Such an end was never even wished, much less seriously proposed by an impostor. At the same time, they lived as no impostors ever lived, and were able to say to their converts, with a full assurance of finding a cordial belief of the declaration, ‘Ye are witnesses, and God also, how holily, and justly, and unblamably we behaved ourselves among you that believe.’ That this was their true character is certain from the concurrent testimony of all antiquity. Had they not nobly recorded their own faults, there is not the least reason to believe that a single stain would have ever rested upon their character. If, then, the apostles invented this story, they invented it without the remotest hope or prospect of making it

believed, a thing which was never done by an impostor; propagated it without any interest, without any hope of gain, honor, power, or pleasure, the only objects by which impostors were ever allured; and with losses and sufferings which no impostor ever voluntarily underwent: proposed as their only end, or at least the only end which has ever been discovered to mankind, an object which no impostor ever pursued or even wished; and during their whole progress through life, lived so as no impostor ever lived; and so as to be the most perfect contrast ever exhibited by men, to the whole character of imposition." (Dwight, *Syst. of Theol.* II, 529; cited by Horne.)

I close with the words of Saurin:

"Collect all these proofs together, consider them in one point of view, and see how many extravagant suppositions must be advanced, if the resurrection of our Savior be denied. It must be supposed that guards who had been particularly cautioned by their officers sat down to sleep; and that, nevertheless, they deserved credit when they said that the body of Jesus was stolen. It must be supposed that men who had been imposed on in the most odious and cruel manner in the world hazarded their dearest enjoyments for the glory of an impostor. It must be supposed that ignorant and illiterate men, who had neither reputation, fortune, nor eloquence, possessed the art of fascinating the eyes of all the Church. It must be supposed that five hundred persons were all deprived of their senses at a time, or that they were all deceived in the plainest matters of fact; or that this multitude of false witnesses had found out the secret of never contradicting themselves or one another, and of being always uniform in their testimony. It must be supposed that the most expert courts of judicature could not find out a shadow of contradiction in a palpable imposture. It must be supposed that the apostles, sensible men in other cases, chose precisely those places and those times which were most unfavorable to their views. It must be supposed that millions madly suffered imprisonments, tortures, and crucifixion to spread an illusion. It must be supposed

that ten thousand miracles were wrought in favor of falsehood, or all these facts must be denied. And then it must be supposed that the apostles were idiots, that the enemies of Christianity were idiots, and that all the primitive Christians were idiots." (*Sermons* II, 221; cited by Horne.)

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF SIN.

(*Concluded.*)

But — to digress for a space — what has *modern* paganism to say on this score? Not the degraded pagans of the Kru coast, Central Brazil, or Celebes, but the heathendom of New York and London and the pantheists of Harvard, Cambridge, and Leipsic — what has the infidel world of Haeckelian science, Spinozistic philosophy, and Ritschlian theology to say in our own day and to our own generation, on the relation of Sin to the major questions of life and thought? What its leaders and representatives tell us is altogether reassuring. "Sin," says Spencer, "is a *temporary incident* of man's transition from a less perfect to a more perfect state." Nero and St. Paul — we are then to conclude — were separated only by certain intermediate stages of *perfection*. In the terse language of the Frenchman: "Vice and virtue are products, like vitriol and sugar." Maeterlinck, the "Belgian Shakespeare," suggests that God in heaven looks down upon human faults with an indulgent smile. Our own Mrs. Eddy teaches that "there never was a moment when evil was real;" sin is one of the "mists of matter;" vice, "an illusion of the physical senses." According to Theodore Parker, sin is merely the tripping of a child learning to walk. Hegel and Schleiermacher held that sin is a necessary stage in human development. Renan "no longer believed in the existence of sin." Ritschl reduces guilt to a subjective illusion. Says J. Freeman Clarke: "Sin is a temporary malady to which all are liable. . . . Man is radically good and even divine." According to Carus (Dresden), sin is a pathological phenomenon (*eine Krankheitserscheinung*); "in the light of physiolog-

ical knowledge, the notion of sin ceases to exist.”¹⁾ Mr. Clodd, in *The Story of Creation*, believes that “the moral sense or conscience is the outcome of social relations, themselves the outcome of the need of living.”²⁾ . . . There is no fixed standard of right and wrong by which the actions of all men throughout all time are measured. . . . Unfortunately, conduct has been made to rest on *supposed* divine commands as to what men shall and shall not do — an *assumption* which serves a useful purpose as a restraint upon the brutal and ignorant.”³⁾

The Parsee, the Brahmin, the Taoist, the Greek and the Roman agree: There is an inner law, divinely established, immutable and eternal as Divinity itself. Modern paganism says: There is no absolute norm of right conduct; “natural law” is a fiction. The consciousness of moral guilt and a profound view of human depravity have deeply tinged ancient pagan thought: sin is inborn — *ἐμφυτος* — in man, nor can he so much as desire not to be that which he hates to be; a state of innocence must remain an idle speculation; “by nature, man is evil.” Modern ethics sees in sin merely a temporary incident in man’s evolution, an illusion of the senses, the tripping of an infant; “man is radically good and even divine.” In Aeschylus and Pindar the anger of the gods consumes the malefactor; but this, according to the modern revisers of ethical standards, was an “unfortunate assumption;” God “smiles indulgently” at sin. The Psalmist, too, says: “He that sitteth in the heavens *shall laugh*,” Ps. 2 — but not with indulgence: “the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall He speak unto them in His wrath.” He *has* spoken in His wrath. The wrath of God is already “revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.” Even in this *unnatural* blindness of the heart the resistance of

1) *Psyche*, p. 349.

2) The familiar utilitarian doctrine of Haeckel, Spencer et omne id genus; man first began to do right because he found it *advantageous* to himself; morality is a product of selfishness.

3) *Story of Creation*, p. 114 sqq.

men to the truth of *the Gospel*⁴⁾ has most terribly avenged itself; they have sinned against better light than the ancients possessed; they have "despised the riches of His goodness and forbearance and long-suffering," and their "darkness of understanding" is in exact proportion to their greater guilt.

"Have you ever heard of anyone," Socrates asks in the Platonic dialogue, "who would doubt that he who kills another unlawfully or commits some other wrong must also *suffer punishment*? No one would dare assert such a thing — neither God nor man!"⁵⁾ This passage emphasizes the point of our last paragraph; it serves, at the same time, to introduce a necessary corollary of the truth (intuitively perceived), that all men are under sin — this, namely, that all sin *merits punishment*. A guilty conscience, indeed, "feels the stroke of justice before it falls;" but aside from this, natural man knows that justice *will* strike, that wrongdoing must recoil, in time, upon the head of the malefactor. Regarding the Trojan war Herodotus remarks⁶⁾ that "all this, with the subsequent destruction of Troy, might be ordained by Providence to instruct mankind that the gods proportioned punishment to crimes." Clearchus is quoted by Xenophon as saying (in a letter to Tissaphernes): "However fast one may flee, I do not see how anyone can escape the anger of the gods, or into what darkness he could evade, or in what hiding-place he could find security."⁷⁾ "The Divinity brings the transgressor to justice," says Menander; "both in life and in death the wicked are punished."

How swiftest vengeance waits the guilty dead;
And for the sins men sin in realms of day,
'Neath earth a stern judge speaks the sentence dread
Of fate's resistless sway.⁸⁾

Two sins especially, the ancients taught, were certain to bring dire misfortune upon the transgressor: murder and perjury. In Hesiod the Furies are represented as forever guard-

4) While the heathen of old sinned against the light of *nature* only.

5) *Eutyphron*, p. 69.

6) II, 120. "No unjust person has ever escaped punishment." V, 56.

7) *Anab.* II, 5, 7.

8) Pindar, *Olymp.* II.

ing Horkos (the Oath); they wreak vengeance upon anyone—whether man *or god*—who has perjured himself. “There is a human punishment for false oaths: disgrace; and a divine punishment: destruction.”⁹⁾ “No perjurer can remain hidden from the gods, nor escape their punishment.”¹⁰⁾ In the 23d song of the Elder Edda, Loki asks the dwarf: “Tell me, Andwari, what punishment is meted out to men who swear falsely?” Andwari replies: “Heavy punishment awaits such men; he who deceives others with a false oath must suffer endlessly.”—That punishment necessarily follows sin is an axiom even among the degraded heathen of our own day. We quote from Bastian: The negroes along the Congo River make vows to their Mòkissos, or fetishes. “So long as he lives in easy circumstances, he attributes this to the good-will of his fetish. But as soon as he has—intentionally or by an oversight—broken his vow, he has entered into a conflict with destiny, misfortunes come upon him, and under the load of his affliction he can only die and forget.”¹¹⁾ The favorite inquiry directed by the South Sea islanders to their oracles is: “*the Sin* why so-and-so is ill.”¹²⁾ And on the island of Madagascar the apes are popularly believed to be men who were metamorphosed on account of their sins.¹³⁾—

All of this states only one half of our subject. In order to exhibit the *intensity* of that feeling of guilt which is an outflow of (natural) conscience, we had to appeal to the testimony of natural man, *the individual*. To demonstrate the universal *extent* of this phenomenon—in other words, to show that mankind has *always and everywhere* acknowledged the “sinfulness of sinning”—is a much simpler matter. There is a single historical fact which may stand for a thousand witnesses. We refer to the practice—universal among pagans from the dawn of history to our own day—of Sacrifice. Through all that endless variation which appears in the sacrificial customs of ancient and modern times one intention can be traced as a governing prin-

9) Cicero, *Legg.* II, 22.

10) Cited by Spiess, *Logos Spermat.*

11) *San Salvador*, p. 254.

12) Gill, *Myths and Songs*, etc.

13) Schulze, *Fetichism*, p. 76.

ciple: the expiation of guilt and the propitiation of the Deity, which punishes the guilty. Reduced to its last elements, the real meaning of sacrifice has at all times been *Purification*. Sin was regarded as an impurity.¹⁴⁾ Hence annual purificatory offerings, "as a propitiation for the sins—wittingly or unwittingly committed—of the entire year" were a general custom of antiquity.¹⁵⁾ "The Latin word *punio*, to punish, as derived from the root 'pu' in Sanskrit, tells us that the Latin derivative was originally formed, not to express mere striking or torturing, but cleansing, correcting, delivering from the stain of sin. In Sanskrit many a god is implored to 'cleanse away' (*punihi*) the sins of men, and the substantive derived from the same stem took in later times the sense of purification and penance. Now, it is clear that the train of thought which leads from purification to penance shows us that in the very infancy of criminal justice punishment was looked upon, not simply as a retribution or revenge, but as a correction, as a removal of guilt. 'Castigation,' too, was originally 'chastening,' from *castus*, pure; and *incestum* was impurity or sin, which, according to Roman law, the priests had to make good, or punish, by a *supplicium*, a supplication or prostration before the gods."¹⁶⁾ The conclusion seems evident. Where tribal and national law required no punishment for some moral dereliction, man felt himself impelled, by an overpowering sense of guilt, to make amends through the sacrifice of something valuable or dear to him. The Phoenicians offered up in times of pestilence and famine their dearest children to Kronos; at their yearly festivals they sacrificed τὰ ἀγαπητὰ καὶ μονογενῆ τῶν τέκνων, as a propitiation for the sins of the nation!¹⁷⁾ Sacrifice was punishment *self-inflicted* under a crushing sense of guilt.

No, it was not a freakish will-o'-the-wisp, this light of nature which fallen mankind received, new-born in every individual, from the beneficence of God. So far as it went,—we

14) "Sin is an impurity of the soul," says Plato, *Laws* III, 716.

15) Movers, *Die Phoenizier* I, p. 301.

16) M. Mueller, *Essays* II, p. 254.

17) Movers, l. c.

should rather say: so far as man permitted it to guide him, — it carried him not away from, but toward a true conception of his depraved state. Let us note that natural man, untouched, so far as we are able to judge, by the Old Testament revelation, held even this truth as a *commune dogma*: That divine judgment will visit the sins of one individual upon another — upon the nation. The wrath of the Furies passed by Tisamenos, says Pausanias,¹⁸⁾ but lighted upon Autesion, his son. "The gods visit the crimes of parents upon the children," says Euripides in a fragment (970). Dike, in Hesiod's *Days and Works*,¹⁹⁾ punishes nations for the misdeeds of their kings. The entire army of Nereus had to be purified (*καθαροῦναι*) because a number of his soldiers had "soiled their hands" (with crime).²⁰⁾ But why multiply instances when both the mythology and the history of the ethnic world presents few more conspicuous facts than such *expiation of foreign guilt*, and the transference of punishment from the individual to the kind? All sacerdotal institutions had for their object the protection of tribes or nations against the wrath of divinities (*ad placandos deos*) offended by the transgressions of the individual.²¹⁾

After all, men have at times more or less clearly recognized the utter futility of all this expiatory machinery. Neither priest, nor sacrifice, nor punishment, nor supplication, nor prayer, can atone for transgression of the moral law — such seems to have been the ultimate verdict of paganism in its most

18) Cited by Welcker, op. cit. III, p. 83.

19) v. 252 sqq.; cf. v. 240: "Often an entire city is punished for one wretch."

20) Aelian., *Var. Hist.* VIII, 5.

21) Satisfaction by substitution is not an idea entirely foreign to the natural mind. In the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, Hermes declares to Prometheus that he shall not be released until some god appear as a successor to his suffering, one willing to go down to Tartarus and Hades for him; Ovid bids the gods take the heart and flesh of the victim for the heart and flesh of the offerer; and Virgil says of the sacrifice: *unum pro multis dabitur caput* (Aen. 5, 815). Even in Homer "the shedding of the blood of the brutes is an alternative set over against the shedding of the blood of the sinner" (President Strong of Rochester Seminary).

enlightened representatives. In the *Iliad*, Athene refuses the prayers of the Trojans who had offended her; in the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon is termed *νήπιος*, a fool, because he tries to reinstate himself by means of sacrifice in the favor of the gods; Zeus does not accept the sacrifice of Ulysses when pursued by Poseidon's wrath. In Homer, says Naegelsbach, "the sin of men, and the retaliation of the gods are certain; forgiveness uncertain, dependent upon the passing whim and arbitrary decree of the gods." Even when Orestes had performed all prescribed rites of purification, Aeschylus represents him as haunted by the Furies into the very shrines of the gods. A Spartan, says Juvenal, had *hesitated* to return a deposit entrusted to him; but the oracle at Delphi informs him that such evil intention "must not go unpunished; he was soon exterminated with all his progeny and house, and all his wide-spreading clan"! "Such is the penalty," the poet adds, "which the mere wish to sin incurs." We may conclude with this expression of Cicero's: "There is no expiation of crimes against mankind, and impiety against the gods." ²²⁾ —

The words of St. Paul: "The Gentiles, which have not the Law . . . show the work of the Law written in their hearts," may be resolved into the following series of parallels and corollaries: *Natural man is able to recognize*, 1) the origin of natural law, as an outflow of the *divina ratio*; 2) the twofold primary function of conscience, as accusing and excusing; 3) the avenging power of an evil conscience; 4) the sinfulness of evil intention; 5) the depravity of man (race and individual); 6) punishment as a necessary consequence of wrongdoing; 7) the need of purification in some form, as a means of escaping punishment, either for one's own sins or those of another; 8) the futility, after all, of all human devices for the expiation of guilt.

In what, then, did the crime of paganism consist? In the "judgment of the day of wrath," why will natural man be "without excuse"? Because, —

22) *De Legg.* I, 40.

I. In spite of the "Law written in their hearts," in spite of "their conscience also bearing witness," in spite of such remarkable clarity of perception in matters concerning sin, purification from sin, and the punishment that must follow sin, men *have continued* to sin, have "all gone out of the way, and altogether become unprofitable," Rom. 3, 12. It is true that *ignorantia legis excusat nullum*; but natural man cannot even plead ignorance of the law. Moreover, we have yet to meet with the first instance of a pagan expressing contrition over a wrong committed.²³⁾ Consciousness of sin there was — *but no repentance*.

II. Instead of turning to the true God, also recognized by man (in the works of nature), when overcome by a sense of guilt and the dread of certain retribution, natural man rather attempts to rid himself of the thought of a moral God who would challenge his impurity and punish his transgressions. This is the genesis of polytheism, or heathenism in the stricter sense. The one holy will was transformed into many wills, sometimes conflicting (as in Homer), never unalterably righteous. Art proceeded to clothe these abstractions — Zeus, Athene, Hermes, etc. — with beauty; but the idea itself was further debased — the statues of the gods became an object of idolatry. Polytheism and fetishism "possessed attractions for the old Adam. A moral creator in need of no gifts, and opposed to lust and mischief, will not help a man with love-spells and malevolent 'sendings' of disease by witchcraft; will not favor one man above his neighbor; charms do not touch his omnipotence. . . . Man being what he is, man was certain to 'go a-whoring' after *practically useful* gods and fetishes. . . . For these he was sure, in the long run, to neglect his idea of the Creator; next, perhaps, to reckon him as only one among the venal rabble²⁴⁾ of spirits and deities."²⁵⁾ It was the Love of Sinning which "changed the truth of God into a lie." And this is the guilt of heathenism.

Irving Park, Chicago.

THEO. GRAEBNER.

23) Certain Babylonian "penitential" prayers must be discounted, as showing too plainly traces of Hebrew influence.

24) Venal, because their favor can be purchased.

25) Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, p. 281.

THE PROOF TEXTS OF THE CATECHISM WITH A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY.

(Continued.)

THE EVIL ANGELS.

Jude 6: *The angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, He hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the great day.*

Their apostasy. The words: "*The angels which kept not their first estate*" clearly imply that originally all angels alike possessed a "first estate." All were created good and holy, for after the entire creation had been finished, "God saw every thing that He had made,"—also the angels,—"*and behold, it was very good,*" Gen. 1, 31. A great number, however, fell from God. Now two classes of angels exist: such as persevered in their primeval state, and such as "*kept not their first estate.*" To these fallen angels, called demons, *δαίμονες*, or *δαμόνια*, Matt. 8, 31; Mark 1, 34; Luke 8, 30, Scripture refers as "*angels that sinned,*" 2 Pet. 2, 4. Of what nature this sin was we are not definitely informed. The apostasy took place after the sixth day of creation and before the fall of man, Gen. 1, 31; 3, 1—5; 1 John 3, 8. How it was possible for such holy beings, as these angels originally were, to fall into sin, is a metaphysical problem we cannot solve. We know the fact; that must suffice us.

The text, however, emphatically affirms that their apostasy was brought on by a *voluntary* act on their part. They "*kept not their first estate,*" as they might have done, "*but left their habitation.*" It was *their* estate, *their* habitation. Willfully, deliberately, they deserted God. To stress this idea of guilt on the part of the evil angels, the text says that the habitation they forsook was their "*own,*" *ἰδίον*, one which, since God had assigned it to them, belonged to them of right. "They kept not,"—"they left"—they have themselves to blame for the awful loss entailed by the fall.

What did they forsake? "*Their first estate.*" The word ἀρχή translated "first estate," literally means *beginning*. They were created just and holy. This beginning, this first state, this concreated state of holiness, they kept not. They sinned.

But the meaning of the word ἀρχή easily slips from that of "beginning" to that of "first place," hence "rule," "magistrate," "principality." Thus we find the word ἀρχή used as a title of angels in such passages as Col. 1, 16; Eph. 1, 21; 3, 10; 4, 12, where it is rendered "principality." In harmony with these passages Luther translates: "Engel, die ihr *Fuerstentum* nicht behielten." The Revised Version, too, has seen fit to substitute "principality" for "first estate." These two renditions — "first estate" and "principality" — are not opposed to each other. The latter includes the former and adds a thought. It points to the dignity these fallen angels possessed. By not keeping τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχήν and τὸ ἴδιον οὐκέρριον they not only lost their original condition, their blissful state, but at the same time deprived themselves of the high rank they occupied, of their position of honor, power, and glory. What a fall was this!

Their punishment. The text reads: εἰς χρίσιν μεγάλης ἡμέρας δεσμοῖς αἰδίους ὑπὸ ζόφου τετήρηκεν. "*Unto the judgment of the great day in eternal bonds under darkness He has kept.*" God has kept and still keeps — that is the force of the perfect τετήρηκεν — them under darkness. So the punishment of the evil angels is a present one. ζόφος, *darkness*, is used here, v. 13, and in the parallel passages, 2 Pet. 2, 4. 17. Its synonym is σκότος, *darkness*. We find the two linked in Jude 13: ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους, "the blackness of darkness," to intensify the meaning, the expression being equivalent to "the densest darkness."¹ Cf. 2 Pet. 2, 17. σκότος, *darkness*, is the emblem of grief, sorrow, misery. Its signification it derives from the context. It may mean *physical* darkness, Matt. 27, 45, *spiritual* darkness, the state of sin and unbelief, 1 Pet. 2, 9; "the outer darkness," — τὸ σκότος τὸ ἐξώτερον, — where

1) Compare the similar structure: ἅγια ἁγίων, Hebr. 9, 3: "holy of holies," "the holiest of all."

"there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," the darkness of hell, Matt. 8, 12. Manifestly this last mentioned meaning of *σκότος* is to be applied to its synonym *ζόφος* in our text. Jude says, and there is a touch of irony in the double use of the word *τηρεῖν*, "kept": "Angels which *kept* not their principality — He has *kept* under darkness." The implied contrast is this: These angels were angels of light once, now they are angels of darkness; they despised the habitation of heaven, the habitation of light, they *kept* it not, now God *keeps* them in the habitation of darkness, of hell. Their fate is sealed. They are kept *in chains*, from which they cannot extricate themselves; there is no hope of release, the chains are *eternal*, forever they will be excluded from light, from the presence of God.

Now already they are in hell, but worse is to come. They are kept in eternal bonds *unto the judgment of the great day*. Now, as it were, the devil finds consolation, in persecuting the Christians, in seducing men into shame, misbelief, and other great vices, but on that great day, the Judgment Day, Acts 2, 20; Rev. 6, 17; 16, 14, this pernicious activity of his, too, shall cease, and he himself shall receive his final judgment and be tortured forever in that everlasting fire that was prepared for the devil and his angels, Matt. 25, 41.

Eph. 6, 12: *We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.*

The forces marshaled against the Christians here pass in review.

Nature and intent. Our enemies are not "*flesh and blood*," human antagonists that can be fought with carnal weapons, but our battle is "*against spiritual wickedness in high places*," the conflict is a *spiritual* conflict. The phrase: *τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας* — "*spirituals of wickedness*," i. e., "*spiritual powers of wickedness*," is equivalent to "*wicked spirits*." Our opponents are *spirits*, hence unseen, and for

that very reason all the more dangerous. No sound or footfall announces their coming. They are far superior to us in intellect and wisdom.

The Apostle characterizes them as spirits "of wickedness." The phrase "of wickedness" says much more than the simple adjective "wicked." The devils are wickedness personified; wicked are all their thoughts, wicked all their desires, wicked all their deeds—and all these thoughts, desires, and deeds are centered upon one thing—to destroy the soul of man.

Organization. These "spiritual powers of wickedness" resemble a well-organized army. The commander-in-chief is *ὁ διάβολος*, the devil, v. 11. Under him, governing and directing the attacks of the legions, of evil angels, Mark 5, 9, are the *ἀρχαί*, the principalities, and the *ἐξουσίαι*, the authorities, which terms evidently denote ranks and orders of the evil spirits, as the same terms signify ranks and orders among the good angels, Eph. 1, 21; 3, 10.

His rule of darkness. The devil and his host are *κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου*, "*world-rulers of the darkness of this age.*" The whole world is the field of their satanic activity; no part of it, however remote or secluded, is exempt from their rule. How vast is their dominion! They are "*world-rulers of darkness.*" Darkness is the element, the means, and the result of their pernicious rule. Matt. 4, 16: "*The people which sat in darkness saw great light, and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up,*" i. e., Christ and His Gospel. Without the Gospel, darkness prevails. Darkness is the region of spiritual death.

Paul, in speaking of his mission to the Gentiles, says that he was sent "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God," Acts 26, 18. Darkness is the state of spiritual blindness, the state of alienation from God and subjection to the power of the devil. In Col. 1, 13 the apostle exhorts the Christians to render thanksgiving to God who "*hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom*

of His dear Son." Darkness is the kingdom of Satan, in which all men are by nature. Here the "works of darkness," such as "rioting and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness and fulfilling the lusts of the flesh," hold full sway, Rom. 13, 13. Darkness is the state of sin and unbelief. Such, then, is the nature of this rule of darkness out of which we have been called into God's marvelous light, 1 Pet. 2, 9; such is, in brief outline, the gigantic opponent, with whom we Christians are to cope.

The apostle writes: *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς κτλ.* "*The wrestling is not to us,*" or "*our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against,*" etc. The conflict is a bitter conflict, a "*wrestling-match,*" ἡ πάλη, a hand-to-hand encounter, a life-and-death struggle. And when the text says: "*Our wrestling is — ἔστιν —*" etc., this indicates that it is an ever-present conflict; there is no cessation of hostilities. No one is immune against the devil's attacks, not even the great apostle himself, for when he warns the Christians against the wiles of Satan, he includes himself, saying: "*We wrestle,*" etc. The repetition of the preposition "*against*" gives prominence, rhetorically, to each concept separately, and vividly pictures the vast and mighty forces arrayed against us. At first sight the thought: "*We wrestle not against flesh and blood,*" may seem strange. The truth imbedded here is this: Our contests may appear primarily as being contests against flesh and blood, but back of this flesh and blood, back of the world with its manifold enticements to sin, is the devil inciting us through these willing tools. Indeed,

The old evil Foe
Now means deadly woe:
Deep guile and great might
Are his dread arms in fight;
On earth is not his equal.

How necessary, therefore, to "put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil," vv. 11. 13.

John 8, 44: *The devil was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it.*

"Murderer," ἀνθρωποκτόνος, *man-slayer*, this name fully characterizes the aim and end of the devil's designs. He seduced our first parents. Thus sin and death came into the world, "and death passed upon all men, because all have sinned," Rom. 5, 12. Thus the devil was a "man-slayer." Such he was "*from the beginning*," not of his existence, for he, too, was created good and holy, Gen. 1, 31, but from the beginning of his apostasy from God. Here, by the way, we have the biblical solution to that vexed question of the Gnostics: ποθεν τὸ κακόν; "Whence did evil come?"

"The first estate," Jude 6, the state of concreated purity and rectitude, was *eo ipso* a state of truth, as it is in God. Truth, absolute truth, was the element in which he stood and moved, truth, nothing but truth, governed his inner self. This state of truth he wantonly forsook when apostatizing from God. He "*abode not in the truth*," ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. Since then there is no truth and truthfulness, ἀλήθεια, in him. The sphere in which he now lives and moves is the lie, ὅτι ψεύστης ἐστίν, "for a liar he is." "*When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own*." This does not discriminate between his speaking the truth at times, at times the lie. Literally it reads: "When he speaks *the* lie," τὸ ψεῦδος, as is his nature, "he speaketh of his own," ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, *out of his own resources*; the well-spring of lie, falsehood, and deception is within him. He cannot do otherwise, "for a liar he is."

The devil is a *murderer* and a *liar*. The name "murderer" indicates his design; "liar," one of the methods by which he endeavors to carry his purposes. By means of a lie he felled our first parents. God had said: Ye shall surely die! The devil is so monstrous a liar as to have the effrontery to call God a liar, saying: "Ye shall not surely die," Gen. 3, 4. The devil denies Scripture, thus he lies. It was a lie when he said

to Christ: "He shall give His angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone," Matt. 4, 6. By omitting the phrase "in all thy ways," Ps. 91, 11, this quotation was emptied of its true meaning; it was no longer Scripture, it was a lie. False doctrines, *i. e.*, lies, "the doctrines of devils," 1 Tim. 4, 1, is one of his most efficient weapons of warfare even to-day. The devil is a liar, "*and the father of it.*" Ananias lied, but it was *Satan who filled his heart to lie*, Acts 5, 3. See 1 John 3, 8.

This passage teaches, (1) the personal existence of the devil, (2) his being the cause of the fall of mankind, (3) his own apostasy, and (4) the depth of wickedness into which he has sunk.²⁾

1 Pet. 5, 8, 9: *Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour: whom resist steadfast in the faith.*

Strictly speaking, the term *ὁ διάβολος*, the devil, is a proper name and designates the prince of the devils, the enemy

2) Much wrangling has been indulged in by exegetes as to the proper translation of the Greek word *ἔσκηκεν*, which the Authorized Version renders "abode": "and *abode* not in the truth." Alford, for example, says: "*οὐχ ἔσκηκεν*, not 'abode not,' E. V.; a sense which *ἔσκηκα* will not bear, being always *present* in meaning, and = 'I have placed myself,' *i. e.*, I *stand*: see Matt. 12, 47; 20, 6; Mark 9, 1; 11, 5; John 1, 26; 3, 39; Acts 1, 11; 7, 33; Rom. 5, 2; 11, 20 *al. fr.*: whereas the pluperfect, *εἰσέτιχεν*, 'I had placed myself,' *i. e.*, I *stood*, is *imperfect* in sense; see Matt. 12, 46. And that this place forms no exception, is shown by *οὐκ ἔστιν* (not *ἦν*) immediately following." The interest that attaches itself to this translation is simply this: "He *abode* not," or, "He *has not stood*" in the truth, teaches the *fall*, the *lapsus* of Satan, while He *stands* not speaks of his *present status*. Bengel also says "non lapsus, sed status" is taught here. — And yet, what does all this war of words amount to? If one should insist on translating the clause: He "*stands* not in the truth," thus emphasizing his *present* state, the fact of the *fall* still remains as clear as daylight. This Alford concedes. He says: "But as the account of this *present* sense shows, it is not a *mere* present, but a present depending on, and commencing with, an implied past fact. And that fact here is, the *fall* of the devil," etc. Thus we are brought back to Luther's Version and to that of the English Bible, with which the translations in various other languages agree.

κατ' ἐξοχήν, Matt. 13, 25. 39. The Greek word διάβολος, Latin, *diabolus*, from which come the English *devil* and the German *Teufel*, signifies "slanderer," "false accuser," Tit. 2, 3; 3, 3, *et al.* "The accuser" (the devil, v. 9) "of our brethren is cast down, which accuseth them before God day and night," Rev. 12, 10. The equivalent in Hebrew is שָׂטָן, *Satan* (Job 1, 6 ff.; 2, 1; 1 Chron. 21, 1), "adversary," "opponent." In the New Testament both terms, devil and Satan, are practically synonymous. Matt. 4, 1 has: "tempted of the *devil*," and Mark 1, 13: "tempted of *Satan*." See Matt. 4, 1. 10; 16, 23, and John 6, 70. The devil is the Christians' ἀντίδικος, says Peter. This word strictly denotes *an opponent in a court of justice*; but since there is no allusion to the divine judgment in this passage, and since the καταπίευν (to devour) is given as the aim of the devil, it is best to accept the word in its general sense—that of "*adversary*." Satan is filled with enmity against all mankind; he has no pity even for the children of disobedience in whom he has his work, Eph. 2, 2; but the true Christians, who, by the grace of God, have escaped his dominion, are the particular objects of his hatred. Hence the apostle says, speaking to Christians, he is "*your adversary*." His purpose is to deprive them of their faith, their salvation. He is a formidable enemy. The text compares him to a lion, Prov. 30, 30. The image is made more vivid and the danger stressed by the use of the adjective *roaring*. As a lion intimidates people by his roaring, so the devil seeks to terrify the Christians by persecutions, sufferings, etc. The pages of Church history treating of the satanical cruelties devised and practiced during the Christian persecutions of the first three centuries are saturated with the blood of the martyrs who would not deny their Savior. Then the devil roared most fiercely! These persecutors of the Christians were the tools of Satan. Powerful in himself, he, as "this prince" and "god of this world," John 14, 30; 16, 11; 2 Cor. 4, 4, pressed and still presses his allies, the children of disobedience in whom he works, Eph. 2, 2, into his service. He is the instigator of

persecutions and afflictions visited on the Christians. Thus he manifests himself as a roaring lion.

This, however, does not exclude that these things also come from God. The apostle begins this exhortation with the words: "Humble yourselves under the *mighty hand of God*," v. 6. The devil and his host are subject to God's supreme dominion and control. God holds the reins of government in His hands. Satan can go no further than God permits. Of Job the Lord said to Satan: "Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand," Job 1, 12. See Job 2, 6; Luke 13, 16. In persecutions, in affliction, under the cross, the devil has evil intents, while God has good intents. And God controls the evil intents of Satan for the good of His beloved ones, Gen. 50, 20; Rom. 8, 28.

With this ferocity our adversary combines a relentless and an untiring activity in the pursuit of his prey. "He *walketh* about, *seeking* whom he may devour." He is always on the alert. "Whence comest thou?" said the Lord to Satan, when he, as the accuser of the brethren, appeared in the midst of the sons of God. Satan answered: "From going to and fro through the earth, and from walking up and down in it," Job 1, 7. He is all the more assiduous in the work of destruction, "having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time," Rev. 12, 12. Together with his legion of devils, he keeps a sharp lookout for the Christians collectively, and for each one individually. It is to be observed that the "whom" — *τίνα* — is in the singular number. No Christian at any time is safe from his attacks. Peter speaks from bitter experience. The wily enemy engaged a frail maiden to fell Peter. Peter did not watch; he denied his Lord. —

LUTHER: "He is, moreover, an angry and bitter enemy to you, who have life in Christ. This he cannot endure, and seeks, and meditates only how he may again deprive you of it, and do not, by all means, think that he is far from you, or assails you at a distance; on the contrary, he is encamped as near as possible to you, and round about you; yea, in your own

field, that is, in your flesh and blood, where he seeks when he may reach you, and surprise you when you are unguarded, and tries now this artifice, and then that, when he cannot overthrow you with one; now with false confidence, with doubt; then with anger, impatience, avarice, evil lusts, etc., as he sees his opportunity, and finds you weak. — Therefore think not that it is a jest, and that he is playing with you, for he is furious and more hungry than any hungry lion, and aims not only at inflicting wounds upon you, nor giving you a thrust, but at devouring you wholly and entirely, so that there remain not anything of you, either as to the soul or the body." (Ep. for III. p. Trin. New Market Ed., p. 45.)

The dangers which encompass the Christians are great indeed, hence the apostle exhorts them: "Be sober, be vigilant!" "Resist steadfast in the faith." Resist *steadfast*, *στερεοί*, as *firm* people. How are they such? Through *faith*. Faith relies upon God, upon Christ, and God is stronger than the devil. Faith is the victory that overcometh the world and the devil. "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you," James 4, 7; Matt. 4, 1—11.

Springfield, Ill.

LOUIS WESSEL.

(To be continued.)

JOHN WICLIF.

III. THE THEOLOGIAN.

(Continued.)

As the time seemed favorable, the Chancellor of Oxford, William de Berton, an enemy of Wiclif, in 1381 gathered twelve of the "most expert" doctors of theology and canon law and condemned Wiclif's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and forbade its teaching at Oxford under pain of excommunication. Wiclif was lecturing on the subject in the beautiful Augustinian cloister, where now Wadham College stands, when the sentence

of condemnation was handed to him. He was taken aback, it is said, though no sign of confusion is mentioned, but firmly replied, "You put force in place of reasons. Prove me wrong and I'll be silent." But neither the Chancellor nor his colleagues had been able to break his arguments from the Bible. "As a stubborn heretic he appealed not to the Pope, nor to the bishops, but to the King," writes Netter of Walden. Lancaster himself rode down to Oxford and "prohibits the said John from saying another word on the subject." But "the said John" did say another word, and a big one at that. On May 10 he promptly put forth his great "Confessio de Sacramento Altaris," defending his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. (Edited by Dr. Johann Loserth, Professor of History in the University of Czernowitz.) He defies his enemies: "Woe to the adulterous generation that believes an Innocent and Raimund rather than the plain words of the Gospel! Woe to the apostates that bury the Bible truth under the rubbish of later traditions! But I trust that in the end the Truth will conquer!" He appeals from the King to his Oxonians and to the English people, and in the "Wicket" he makes plain to the English people his doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

On May 6, 1382, Wiclif replied to the Council that had condemned his teaching in his "Complainte to King and Parliament," and asked to defend himself. "I appeal to the Church of the first thousand years since our Lord's time. I challenge the existing Church to dispute these questions with me. You reply that the Church has settled the matter; and have, in fact, condemned me beforehand. I cannot expect at your hands anything else but to be silenced, and, what is more, according to your new Ordinance, imprisoned. I know what that means. I demand, therefore, that the lay voice be heard . . . the English people, who have now the Bible in their hands, will speedily perceive that I am no heretic, but the truest Churchman in the land." He makes a stirring appeal to Parliament to maintain the simple faith of Christ "as they are bound on pain of damnation, since it is openly taught in Holy Writ, and by reason

and wit; and damn we this cursed heresy of Antichrist, and his hypocrites, and worldly priests."

After the death of Sudbury, the energetic and powerful William Courtenay, an old enemy of Wiclif, was made Archbishop. On May 6, 1382, he received his pallium from Rome, and on the 17th he called a court to try Wiclif's doctrine. He formed a union with the monks for this purpose, and Wiclif grimly remarks, "On that day Pilate and Herod became friends. If those two made out Christ a heretic, it will be easy for these to brand true Christians as heretics."

The court of ten bishops, sixteen Doctors, and eight Bachelors of Theology, thirteen Doctors of the Canon and Civil Law and two Bachelors of Law, and others, sixty in all, met in the Dominican monastery of the Black Friars in Holborn, where the *Times* and the Bible House now stand. But at two o'clock in the afternoon all London is shaken by a violent earthquake, and the judges grow pale with superstitious awe. Twice before Wiclif's trial has been strangely broken off; are the very elements, now at the third time, in league with the Reformer? Shall the trial be given up? "No!" thunders the resolute Courtenay, rising in his place and with rare presence of mind saying, "We shall not give up the trial. This earthquake but portends the purging of the kingdom; for as there are in the bowels of the earth noxious vapors which only by a violent earthquake can be purged away, so are these evils brought by such men upon this land which only by a very earthquake can ever be removed. Let the trial go forward!"

Wiclif's explanation was, that this earthquake was God's condemnation of His enemies, as the earthquake at Christ's crucifixion had been God's condemnation of Christ's enemies. Wiclif was not present at this "Earthquake Council," as he calls it, likely owing to his first stroke of paralysis.

Twenty-four articles were brought against the Reformer, and after a debate of three days ten were condemned as heretical, the rest as erroneous. His chief heresy was his denial of transubstantiation, which overthrew the very foundation on which the vast power of the priesthood was built up. If the

priest did not have the power of working the daily miracle of "making the body of Christ," of what use was he?

On May 28, Friar Peter Stokes, the Carmelite Doctor of Theology in Oxford and the Primate's Commissary at the University, received the mandate to publish the condemnation of Wiclif's teaching at Oxford, although the heretic's name was not mentioned. Three days later the Bishop of London was ordered to tell all the other bishops to publish the condemnation and to forbid the preaching of these heresies.

On Whitsun-Friday, May 30, the Synod and large numbers of the clergy and laity moved in a barefoot procession through the streets of London to St. Paul's where John Cunningham, a Carmelite Doctor of Theology and one of the most celebrated divines of the day, preached the sermon on the condemned doctrines and at the close read the Archbishop's mandate of Wiclif's condemnation.

At Oxford Wiclif was still the "Evangelical Doctor," the "Flower of Oxford," the greatest living teacher of philosophy and theology, the representative of views shared by at least one half of the university, whose influence was especially great among the younger Masters of Art. On Ascension Day, May 15, 1382, Nicholas Hereford, Wiclif's most prominent disciple, preached a violent sermon against Wiclif's opponents in the cemetery of St. Frideswide, and they appealed to Gaunt. Friar Stokes could not get the new Wiclifite chancellor Robert Rygge to act against the heretic, and the friar did not dare publish the condemnation of Wiclif's doctrine "for fear of death." Spite a threatening letter from the Archbishop, Rygge permitted Philip Repington to preach before the university a strong defense of Wiclif on Corpus Christi, June 5, 1382. The excitement was so great that the Chancellor had secured from the mayor a guard of a hundred armed men, while twenty others with weapons under their gowns escorted the preacher.

Henry Crompton, a monk and a Doctor of Divinity in Oxford, called Wiclif a Lollard, a term of recent origin and now for the first time applied publicly to Wiclif. Chancellor Rygge

promptly suspended the offender. The Archbishop called the Chancellor sharply to account at the adjourned Synod on June 12, and Rygge said it would "cost his life to enforce the condemnation of Wiclif at Oxford," but he promised to submit.

On May 26, 1382, King Richard II admitted a "Statute of the Kingdom" with the pretended consent of Parliament, which made every county officer of the king a policeman of the bishops to imprison every preacher pointed out by a bishop. In October the Commons objected to this forgery, and the king had to withdraw it; the Commons refused "to bind over themselves or their descendants to the prelates."

Fearing that the forged "Statute" of May 26 might not serve his purpose, Courtenay on June 26 got the boy-king to issue a "Royal Ordinance" giving power to the bishops themselves to imprison defenders of Wiclif's doctrines until they recanted, or other action should be taken by the king. This was practically the Inquisition; in fact, Courtenay calls himself "the Chief Inquisitor" and says the other bishops were to be each an inquisitor in his own diocese. Armed with this big stick, Courtenay proceeded to win for himself the shameful distinction of being, according to Hook, the first English churchman to use force in matters of religion. He set about resolutely to hunt down Wiclif's disciples one by one, and forced them to flee, recant, or go to prison. But Wiclif never backed down; without helmet or miter, alone and to the very last, he went on fighting the Antichrist. In his latest writings, such as the "Trialogus" and "Wicket," he is just as vigorous and unconcerned as if there never had been a powerful hostile Archbishop and a powerful faithless John O'Gaunt.

At last, on July 13, King Richard commanded Chancellor Rygge to publish the condemnation of Wiclif's doctrines and banish Wiclif, Hereford, Repyngton, and Aston from the University and town of Oxford within seven days. Wiclif left, and Oxford was dark and dead for a hundred years.

It is held by many that in November, 1382, he was called on once more to answer for doctrines to the Convocation of

Canterbury at Oxford, but he defended himself with freedom, faithfulness, and unflinching courage that no recantation could be extorted and no condemnation passed. He retired in peace to his rectory at Lutterworth.

IV. THE REFORMER.

It is a strong proof of the astonishing hold which Wiclif had gained over large sections of the English people that spite the condemnation of bishop and pope he yet escaped all personal violence. Though hating him with the deepest hatred, the clergy did not dare lay hands on his person; public opinion was too strong for the champion of England, and the Commons seemed to be too much under his influence. In 1382 the bishops and barons voted to silence and suppress Wiclif's poor priests, but the Commons objected, and it never became a law. In 1385 the Commons even voted the church endowments to secular uses, but the Lords objected.

Wiclif left Oxford and retired to his parish at Lutterworth, translating the Bible, preaching sermons, writing tracts, and training his "poor priests" to preach the Gospel.

A good man was ther of religioun,
 And was a poore PERSOUN of a toun;
 But riche he was of holy thought and werk.
 He was also a lerned man, a clerk,
 That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche;
 His parissshens devoutly wolde he teche.
 Benigne he was, and wonder diligent,
 And in adversitee ful pacient. . . .
 Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer a-sonder,
 But he ne lafte nat, for reyn ne thonder,
 In sikness nor in meschief, to visyte
 The ferreste in his parisshe, muche and lyte,
 Upon his feet, and in his hand a staf.
 This noble ensample to his sheep he yaf,
 That first he wroghte, and afterward he taughte;
 Out of the gospel he tho wordes caughte, . . .
 And though he holy were and vertuous,
 He was to sinful man nat despitous . . .
 To drawen folk to heven by fairnesse
 By good ensample, was his bisnesse:
 But if evere any persone obstinat,
 What-so he were, of heigh or lowe estat,
 Him wolde he snibben sharply for the nones. . . .
 But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
 He taughte, and first he folwed it him-selve.

Many think that in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer drew the picture of Wiclif; at any rate, the description fits him perfectly.

Having found the truth in the Bible, Wiclif soon saw the need of spreading the Bible. "To be ignorant of the Bible is to be ignorant of Christ," he said; again, "The Sacred Scriptures are the property of the people, and one which no one should be allowed to wrest from them. . . . Christ and His apostles converted the world by making known the Scriptures to men in a form familiar to them . . . and I pray with all my heart that through doing the things contained in this book we may all together come to the everlasting life." In his treatise on the "Meaning and Truth of Scripture" he argues that, "though there were a hundred popes, and all the friars in the world were turned into cardinals, yet should we learn more from the Gospel than we should from all that multitude." Elsewhere he says, "Since secular men should understand the faith, it should be taught them in whatever language is best known to them."

Wiclif was the first to give to Englishmen the whole Bible in their "modir tonge," and he spent many years on the work. He turned into English the Gospels and likely the rest of the New Testament; his disciple Nicholas de Hereford worked on most of the Old Testament; the rest was finished by another, possibly Wiclif himself, about 1382.

As soon as the work of translation was done, Wiclif set about to improve it. The whole was revised by his attendant and secretary, John Purvey, whose own manuscript is still in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; the work was finished about 1388, certainly before 1400. Spite all Bible burnings a hundred and seventy copies remain, and several of these very New Testaments may be seen in the Lenox Branch of the New York Library, especially a very fine one presented by Mr. William Waldorf Astor. One of the remaining copies belonged to Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester; another to King Henry VI, who gave it to the Charter House; another appar-

ently to Richard III; another likely to Edward VI; another to Henry VII; another was given to Queen Elizabeth for a birthday present.

Tyndale's printed Bible cost 3 s. 6 d., or about \$10.00 in our money, but Wiclif's hand-written Bible cost £2, 16 s. 8 d., or nearly \$200.00 in our money. The great cost of the Bible of course prevented a very wide sale, yet it was spread. Where there is a will, there is a way: a large sum was paid for even a few sheets; a load of hay was given for permission to read it one hour a day for a certain period; those unable to read clubbed together to pay some one to read to them; at little gatherings one Alice Collins was sent for "to recite the ten commandments and parts of the Epistles of SS. Paul and Peter, which she knew by heart." "Certes, the zeal of those Christian days seems much superior to this of our day, and to see the travail of them may well shame our careless times," says old John Fox in his famous *Book of Martyrs*. "God grant to us all grace to ken well and to kepe well Holie Writ, and to suffer joiefulli some paine for it at the laste," prays Richard Purvey in the preface to his Bible.

The monumental work was splendidly printed in four quarto volumes at Oxford in 1850, and the accomplished editors Forshall and Madden spent twenty-two laborious years in editing it.

Lechler says, Wiclif's English Bible "marks an epoch in the development of the English language, almost as much as Luther's translation does in the history of the German tongues. The Luther Bible opens the period of the new High German. Wiclif's Bible stands at the head of the Middle English."

John Wiclif is not only the greatest figure in Oxford history, but, along with Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton, one of the four men who have produced the greatest effect on the English language and literature. Wiclif's Bible gave form and richness to the English language. Dr. Vaughan says, "His writings contributed, far more than those of any other man, to form and invigorate the dialect of his country."

"If Chaucer is the father of our later English poetry,

Wiclif is the father of our later English prose. The rough, clear, homely English of his tracts . . . is, in its literary use, as distinctly a creation of his own as the style in which he embodied it, the terse vehement sentences, the stinging sarcasms, the hard antitheses which roused the dullest mind like a whip," says Green, *Hist. Eng. People* I, p. 489.

"Wiclif's Bible and prose writings were the creators of our modern English. As Luther opened the period of the new High German, so Wiclif laid the foundations among the common people for the present English speech. Chaucer wrote more for the higher classes," says Bishop Hurst, *History* I, p. 24.

Wiclif's translation was looked upon as an act of sacrilege, worthy of punishment. So furious was the outcry against him, as an audacious violator who had dared touch the holy ark with unholy hands, that even a bill was brought into the House of Lords, in 1391, forbidding the people to read the Bible, and it would have become law but for sturdy John of Gaunt. "The Duke of Lancaster answered right sharply: 'We will not be the refuse of other nations; for since they have God's law, which is the law of our belief, in their own language, we will have ours in English, whoever say nay.' And this he affirmed with a great oath."

To the storm of indignation against himself Wiclif replied very simply: "The clergy cry aloud that it is heresy to speak of the Holy Scriptures in English, and so they would condemn the Holy Ghost, who gave tongues to the Apostles of Christ to speak the Word of God in all languages under heaven."

Knyghton, the old chronicler, voices the general sentiment of the papacy in the following lament: "This Master John Wiclif translated it out of Latin into the Anglican, not the angelic tongue, and thus laid it more open to the laity and to women who could read than it had formerly been to the most learned of the clergy, or even to those of them that had the best understanding. And in this way the Gospel pearl is cast abroad and trodden under foot of swine; that which was before precious both to clergy and laity is rendered, as it were, the common jest

of both. The jewel of the Church is turned into the common sport of the people, and what was hitherto the principal gift of the clergy and divines is made forever common to the laity."

Archbishop Arundel, more zealous than learned, complained to the Pope of "that pestilent wretch, John Wiclif, the son of the old Serpent, the forerunner of Antichrist, who had completed his iniquity by inventing a new translation of the Scriptures," and in 1408 the Convocation of Canterbury in St. Paul's, London, said, "It is a dangerous thing . . . to translate the text of the Scripture out of one tongue into another. . . . We therefore decree and ordain . . . that no man read any such book . . . under pain of the major excommunication, until the said translation be approved." Under the influence of this same Arundel, the law of England was so changed as to make heresy punishable with death. But when John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1431 threatened with excommunication any who translated the Bible or copied such translation, he made no reserve in favor of any accepted version. Why should he? "The decrees of the bishops in the church are of greater weight and dignity than the authority of Scripture," was the opinion of Thomas Netter of Walden, the confessor of King Henry V. The air was filled with curses, fagots were gathered, fires were lighted, Bible readers were burned with the Bible tied around their necks.

The Latin schoolman now turned English pamphleteer, and for his "Oxford Movement" wrote a flood of "tracts for the times" in strong, nervous English, of which the best known is "The Wicket," a defense of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper; others are, "The Church and her members," "The Great Sentence of Curse," "The Schism of the Roman Pontiffs," etc.

In those days the pulpit was in a bad way. The preaching monks regaled their hearers with tales of Troy or silly stories of the saints in order to catch the penny collection, and "penny preachers" is the term Brother Berthold of Regensburg applies to them as early as the 13th century. Even Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal, took an old French

dancing song for the text of a sermon, applying "the Fair Alice" and all that is said of her to the Holy Virgin. Even the Dominican Jacob Eckard pronounced such things "stale and absurd."

Wiclif not only translated the Bible into the language of the people, he also preached and enforced it in the plain language of the people. He sought to reform the pulpit, he avoided the dry scholasticism on the one hand and the silly sensationalism on the other. In humble speech the pastor of Lutterworth sought to impart a spiritual knowledge to souls that would die without it. He declared, "In every preaching of the Gospel the true teacher must address himself to the heart, so as to flash the light into the spirit of the hearer and to bend his will into obedience to the truth." "The highest service that man may attain to on earth is to preach God's Word," said Wiclif. The Word is "the life-seed, begetting regeneration and spiritual life." "O marvelous power of the Divine seed, which overpowers the strong man armed, softens obdurate hearts, and changes into Divine men those who were brutalized in sin, and removed to an infinite distance from God." When he portrays Christ, Wiclif is sweet and tender; as a loving brother he directs his hearers to Christ. A classic saying is traced to Wiclif's pulpit: "This I have suffered for thee; what dost thou suffer for Me?"

As Luther would have sermons in Latin for the learned and in German for the plain people, so Wiclif would have the faith preached in Latin and in English. "If Christ and His apostles converted many through sermons in the language of the people, why should not the modern disciples of Christ deal out crumbs from the same bread?" Four volumes of Wiclif's Latin sermons have been edited by Prof. Loserth, and three volumes of his English ones by Thomas Arnold. "The Sonedai Gospelis, Expowned in Partie," written about 1382, is a collection of sermon skeletons, likely for the use of his "poor priests." In 1362 Edward III ordered all legal pleadings to be done in English, "on the ground that French was not much known." And Wiclif was probably the first man to introduce English preaching in

the universities and churches. This is certainly a turning point of the English language and literature.

Luther, "when a tyro at Erfurt," came across a volume of Hus's sermons in the library, and, "burning with curiosity," read one "so skilled in expounding Scripture;" in reading Hus, Luther was reading the ideas of Wiclif.

The next step was to preach and spread the Bible more widely. Accordingly, Wiclif gathered around him his "poor priests," university men most of them, clad in long gowns of undressed wool, rough and brown as russet apples, going bare-foot or on sandals, carrying staves, and preaching the simple Gospel in plain speech to the common people and spreading parts of the Bible. The common people heard them gladly and neglected the monks; many of the middle class helped Wiclif in this work; even at Court Lord Salisbury was their public patron.

In May, 1382, we hear for the first time of these "preachers of God's law" in a mandate of Archbishop Courtenay complaining of "certain uncalled traveling preachers, seemingly very holy, but without episcopal authority, spreading erroneous, nay, heretical assertions in holy and unholy places;" but his complaint does not seem to have done much good. An Oxford commission complains to the Archbishop in the same year that "within a few years" these preachers had arisen.

Wiclif's pure character, his fervent faith, the spiritual energy of his life, had made a deep impression. His disciples, known as Lollards, were found everywhere. Wiclif himself asserted that a whole third of all the clergy had adopted his teaching, and Knyghton, the chronicler, regretfully writes that "of two persons met on the road, one of them was sure to be a Wiclifite." The widow of the Black Prince was favorable to them, and King Richard's "good Queen Anne" was almost an active partisan.

It is held by some that in his last years Wiclif was cited to Rome by Pope Urban, but the frailty of age alone simply made such a trip impossible, and he refused.

While attending service in his own church on Holy Innocents' Day, December 28, 1384, a second stroke of paralysis ended the labors of the veteran; his tongue was lamed, and he never spoke again; he died three days later and was buried in the chancel of the church at Lutterworth, the town he made immortal.

Here is a choice specimen from Walsingham, one of the monkish writers of the time, describing Wiclif's death: — "John Wiclif, the organ of the devil, the enemy of the Church, the idol of heretics, the image of hypocrites, the restorer of schism, the storehouse of lies, the sink of flattery, being struck by the horrible judgment of God, was seized with the palsy throughout his whole body, and that mouth which was to have spoken huge things against God and His saints, and holy Church, was miserably drawn aside, and afforded a frightful spectacle to beholders; his tongue was speechless and his head shook, showing plainly that the curse which God had thundered forth against Cain was also inflicted on him."

The *Chronicon Angliae* says, "This fellow was called John, but he did not deserve to be. For he had cast away the grace which God had given him, turning from the truth which is in God, and giving himself to fables." The St. Albans monk calls him the "lying glutton, Dr. Wickedbelieve," and Adam of Usk calls him "Mahomet who preached incontinence to the young and confiscation to the rich."

It is a curious fact that spite the hate of the clergy, Wiclif in life was never judicially declared to be a heretic and never formally threatened with the ban of excommunication; he died in the possession of his office and dignity as Rector of Lutterworth.

Milwaukee, Wis.

W. DALLMANN.

WARTBURG LETTERS OF LUTHER.

*(Continued.)*To AMSDORF.¹⁾

Jesus.

I congratulate you, my dear licentiate, upon the increase of your income from the pastorate of Schmoelln.²⁾ May the revenue conduce to your happiness! As regards the rumor which a certain writer has started, to the effect that I am at Castle Wartburg, dismiss that from your mind. Even the princes are ignorant of my whereabouts, much more the writer whom you quote. By the way, I shall be at Erfurt in the near future, perhaps before this letter has reached you, on account of my illness. I shall there appear in public, if they will suffer me, at least for a time.

Philip wrote me that you would reply to Emser,³⁾ provided I should favor your plan. However, I fear he is not worth having you for his antagonist. Moreover, in view of the fact that he is full of deviltry,⁴⁾ I am afraid, if one of our younger men were to reply to him, he would ridicule and mock the effort. For the spirit that is raging in him does nothing else than catch at words which he can make sport of, while he sets aside the real issue. Whatever you do, in case you do reply to him, be on your guard and bear in mind that you are dealing with an utterly abandoned spirit, not with a man. For he does not understand himself what he says; it is the spirit in him that has seized him with a long malady of malice and incites him to rage, and he speaks only to the end that he may exasperate and mock us.

1) Printed in Aurifaber's collection I, 338 b; De Wette II, 26; Erlangen Correspond. III, 195; St. L. Ed. XV, 2550 ff.

2) Near Altenburg.

3) This was not done. Luther wrote the reply himself. Comp. "Refutation of his error," etc. (St. L. Ed. XVIII, 1352.)

4) des Satans voll.

Accordingly, you must write against him in the most simple manner, carefully making every point firm in advance, lest Satan grasp at an [unadvised] expression, so that everybody may see, even though *he* may not see, — an outcome that we may well despair of, — that he has not spoken to the point at all, because he proves by statements of the fathers that there are priests,⁵⁾ while I had produced Scripture to show that it is vain prattle when he says: "Come forward, dear saint," etc. For in my treatise I contended that the fathers had denominated priests certain people of such a character as he is striving in vain to exhibit.⁶⁾

Accordingly, the passage in Peter (1 Pet. 2, 6—10), likewise Rev. 5, 9 f. and 20, 6, must be treated in connection with what precedes, and the context in general,⁷⁾ and we must ridicule this devil,⁸⁾ because he cites this one passage of Scripture to prove that he and his ilk⁹⁾ are called priests, just as I have ridiculed him in the treatise referred to. Again, his claim must be ridiculed, that the character of a priest is shown in the passage: "Ye are the salt of the earth," Matt. 5, 13. As if salt and priest were identical! Even our schoolchildren who read their primer *Ex quo*¹⁰⁾ know that this is ridiculous.

5) Emser had endeavored to prove from the fathers that there is a distinction made between priests and laymen.

6) Luther had cited 1 Pet. 2, 9: "Ye are a royal priesthood," and had argued that the term "priest" is a common title of all believers, and that Scripture names the public functionaries of the ministerial office servants, ministers, presbyters, elders, bishops. (St. L. Ed. XVIII, 1354; comp. IX, 713 ff.)

7) See St. L. Ed. XVIII, 1354.

8) "den Teufel" evidently refers to Emser.

9) *sie.*

10) The *vocabularium Ex quo*, so called from the first words of the preface: *Ex quo vocabularii varii authenticici*, etc., was a schoolbook much in use at the time. It was an abridgment of Johannes' de Janua (John Balbi of Genoa, about 1286), a member of the preaching fraternity, *Summa, quae vocatur Catholicon*. Its contents are silly; *e. g.*: *sal* is defined thus: *Sal*, salt, so called from *salire*, to jump, because it jumps when thrown into fire. *Sal* is the same as *sapientia*, wisdom, hence the phrase "the salt of

Again, it must be shown that the authority of the fathers clearly is destroyed by the saying of the apostle: "Prove all things," 1 Thess. 5, 21, also by Augustine (dist. IX, c. Noli), also by Jerome's comment on Matt. 23: "Whatsoever is not valid by reason of its scripturalness¹¹⁾ may be set aside as easily as it was put forward. On the other hand, it must be shown that¹²⁾ we must not believe the fathers beyond the point to which they desire to be believed, that is, we must believe only the passages of Scripture which they have cited.

It must be shown, then, that this foolish spirit does not even understand what is the subject-matter of his book; for the controverted point is not what the fathers have said, but why they have said it. And the reader must be made to perceive that saying something is one thing and believing something quite another, and that we are not contending against what the fathers have said, but against the claim that what the fathers have said must be believed. So widely has this blasphemous braggart missed his own aim.

Other points you will observe yourselves. Only do not doubt that the evil spirit is speaking through him as through an instrument which he has taken possession of really and truly, and that his sole purpose is to evade the issue, and by many books to multiply his blasphemies. It is plainly the evil spirit; however, his wickedness exhibits one defect: he has taken possession of a stupid, obtuse, and untutored instrument. And yet, spite of his utter worthlessness, he shows sufficiently by his impetuous rage how he has been shut in by Scripture and has no proper argument which he might adduce in behalf

wisdom." *Sacerdos*, priest, is defined thus: *Sacerdos* is the same as *sacra dans vel docens*, a person who administers or teaches sacred rites; for he must be a liberal person (*largus*); a priest. *Sacerdotissa* is the wife of the *sacerdos*.

11) "Was nicht aus der Schrift Geltung hat."

12) Prof. Hoppe follows the reading of Aurifaber who has "quod" at this place. De Wette and the Erlangen Correspondence read "quo."

of his kingdom among the papists. That is what hurts this satan.

I write this to advise you to write against him with a calm mind which despises his arguments, and not to become exasperated by him, as if you were writing against a human being. For by your contempt (if you incense him by ridicule and convict him of folly) you will exasperate and tantalize to an incredible degree the pride of this exceedingly haughty spirit, and will cause him to spit forth still more blasphemies and thereby to reveal himself.

Had I known earlier that he is possessed of an evil spirit, I should have cast out the devil from him nicely, but even without knowing it I have plagued him sufficiently. However, if he should write in Latin, as he states that he will, I shall do what I have so far forborne to do. It had seemed to me that Peter Suaven would be a proper person to write against him; however, since he has been dragged about ere this by the Lipsians, it seems to me now that we should not offer the devil an opportunity to show his old rage against him; for this scornful devil would surely cite the former instance against him.

God be praised, because He has not only placed us in this fight with the evil spirits but has, moreover, revealed to us that it is not flesh and blood that is assailing us upon this issue. Therefore, be cheerful and rejoice. He who has cast out the prince of this world is not afraid of the outcast, for He despised him when he was about to be cast out. He reigns and will continue to reign in us sinners who are His fools, while Satan rages in the wise and his righteous ones.

I could wish now to be a pupil of our teacher of Hebrew,¹³⁾ but also of Philip in his lectures on Colossians. Thanks be to Christ who has made us so rich by the unspeakable gift of His Word. I am rejoiced over your abundance to such a degree that I can bear my absence from you only with difficulty. For I see that I am not needed by you, but that I need you.

13) Aurogallus was teaching Hebrew at Wittenberg at the time.

Farewell, and pray for me. An unpleasant and sad report has reached us regarding Guenther Staupitz;¹⁴⁾ I am hoping that it is without foundation. May the Lord avert such a misfortune from this house!

Written in my desert, 1521.¹⁵⁾ MARTIN LUTHER.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEW.

DIE HERRLICHKEIT GOTTES IN DER NATUR. By *H. Weseloh*,
Pastor of Immanuel Lutheran Congregation at Cleve-
land, O. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House.
1906. 172 pp. Price, 50 cts.

Prof. Hugh M. Scott, D. D., of Chicago Theological Seminary in a recent survey¹⁾ of the astonishing development of the various departments of natural philosophy, their great achievements in the past, and their still greater ambitions for the future, remarks very pertinently and seasonably: "Strictly speaking, the work of the scientist is limited to a study of the physical world, to matter and the forces which work through it. When he finds a principle of law, order, intelligence building crystals, framing and coloring flowers, fashioning animals, and man himself, he naturally describes it in terms of physics—he calls it a *nisus formativus*, a *Bildungstrieb*, a

14) Guenther Staupitz was the brother of the well-known John Staupitz, vicar of the order of Augustinian friars. It appears that Guenther had made a loan of 124 guilders Rhenish to the Augustinian monastery at Wittenberg. This loan was secured by a mortgage which the friars gave on a village by the name of Dabrun, which they owned, about four miles to the southeast from Wittenberg. The mortgage was for 2400 guilders. It was on account of this exorbitant usury that a litigation commenced between Guenther and the friars. "This house" in the present letter means the Augustinian monastery.

15) The present letter is imperfectly dated. The date assumed is July 15; for in the letter to Melanchthon which we published in our last issue (THEOL. QUARTERLY XI, 122) Luther mentions Amsdorf's election to the pastorate at Schmoelln, upon which event he congratulates him in the present letter. At the close of the letter to Melanchthon Luther mentions that his arrangements for the dispatch of Melanchthon's letter, which was dated July 13, had miscarried. It is likely that the letter to Amsdorf had been penned when the next opportunity to post the letter to Melanchthon arrived, and that both letters were dispatched at the same time.

1) *Princeton Theol. Rev.* for October, 1906: "Has Scientific Research Disturbed the Basis of Rational Faith?"

creative impulse in nature. Instead of recognizing a personal power and will behind the visible world, he is inclined to endow matter with the qualities necessary to produce all that is. This is no new problem. The study of the world is one thing; the study of its origin is quite another thing. The first pursuit belongs preeminently to science; the second inquiry pertains especially to philosophy and theology." This is warning both the scientist and the theologian against the fallacy of *μετάβασις*. In the book of Pastor Weseloh we have a religious study of objects of nature, the forces that are at work in nature and the laws according to which they work. The author has seen things that Darwin and Buechner, Kant and Lotze have seen, and those things have not upset but strengthened his faith in God and Scripture, and he takes his reader fearlessly into the realms where science is supposed to hold sway exclusively, and where many people think and say the theologian dare not and must not venture. He calls upon Linné, Kerr, the Grays, Buckley, Buffon, Secchi, Howorth, Bell, Humboldt, Du Bois-Reymond, Keppler, Laplace, Sanders, and scores of naturalists, physicists, chemists, astronomers, who are authorities in their respective departments of science, to tell their lay brethren what the retort, the microscope, and the telescope have revealed to them. The contents and the spirit of the book can easily be gathered from a survey of its chapter headings: Hidden Beauty (a study in microscopy), Flowers and Insects, Foliage, Seed-corn, Wonders of the Plant World, Anthracite Coal a Witness of the Power and Provident Care of God, Strange Metamorphoses, the Spider an Expert Builder, the Homely Bee and its Skill, the Despised Rainworm and its Great Importance, the Ant and its Doings, Wonders of the Plant and Animal Cell, the Most Wonderful Machine (a physiological study of the human body), Atmosphere as a Witness of Divine Wisdom and Goodness, Water, the Lord of Day (the sun), Sun Rays, Irrigation, Remarkable Senses and Faculties in the Animal World, a Wonderful Guide (animal instinct), Living in Water, Air Navigators (the birds), a Lesson from Ruminants, the Tides, a Magnificent Phenomenon, the Gulf Stream, Vestiges of the Flood, the Electrician and the Fish, Inanimate Matter and Its Marvels, the World of Stars, More Wonderful than the Telephone (the human ear). In the concluding chapter (God or Chance?) the author pays his respect to Haeckel and arrays him not only against God, but also against common intelligence. The entire book is written in a happy vein. The style is animated, the subjects very interesting, and the authors quoted always speak at their best. It is a magnificent panorama which is spread before the reader in these pages, but nature's marvels are set forth only as the trappings of the Creator. Everywhere the author bows

before God and invites the reader involuntarily to do the same. It is a truly great little book, great on account of the childlike faith with which it approaches subjects which have caused many a perverse heart to scoff and sneer. Happy man who in the midst of the engrossing cares and labors of a large parish has kept alive a sympathetic interest and squeezed out of his busy hours the necessary moments of leisure to write such a book!

THE COMMON SERVICE WITH MUSIC. As Adopted by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States. Harmonized by *Louis Kahmer*, Baltimore, Md., and edited by a comité. American Lutheran Publication Board, Pittsburg, Pa. 80 pages. Price, 35 cts.

This book is a liturgical product of indisputable merit. It reproduces a liturgical gem of our Church. True, the particular arrangement of the details which make up the two orders of service presented in this book is of recent date. "The Common Service" is an American product and had no existence prior to the year 1890 or thereabout. However, its various parts have been in use in the Lutheran churches of Germany and the Scandinavian countries ever since the days of Luther and the Reformers, and the arrangement of these parts in the American form is also sanctioned by a majority of Lutheran liturgies of the age of the Reformation. From a historical point of view the "Common Service" is not an innovation but a repristination. It restores as faithfully as can be desired the order of service according to which our fathers worshiped in Saxony, Swabia, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Denmark, etc. The text of the prayers, introits, versicles, voices the pure doctrine of God's Word. Of the music we are unable to judge. Our colleague, Prof. Fuerbringer, pronounces it good. The typography and binding of the booklet leave nothing to be desired. It is a chaste volume in black and gold, and throughout its pages affects the ancient black letter in its initials and chapter heads. We congratulate the compilers and publishers of this work upon this very pleasing production.

Nevertheless, we entertain some doubt as regards the future success of this publication. The service according to the forms here presented will be lengthened rather unduly. The morning service, in particular, including the communion service, takes up 67 pages in this book. In the majority of our congregations it could not be executed at all without a choir trained to some degree of proficiency. For the average worshiper it is too intricate. We doubt whether an entire congregation can be trained to follow the service intelli-

gently and without annoying perplexities. But even if this were possible, it may still be questioned whether the benefit derived from carrying out this complete order is sufficiently great to justify the effort of learning to master it. The very elaborateness of this service will limit its sphere of usefulness, we are afraid. Our present form, no doubt, is meager; compared with it, the form here presented represents the opposite extreme. To overcome the difficulty we expect to hear that congregations, pastors, and organists will modify the service, each according to his own liturgical taste, or lack of taste, and will thus make the "Common Service," after all; an uncommon service, in more than one respect. Moreover, in such of our congregations as have introduced the English service we should hold it to be highly desirable, if not peremptorily necessary, that the English service should resemble the German as closely as possible in every respect, the outward form not excepted. It is not necessary to mention what everybody knows who has had some experience in the matter, viz., that the period of transition in our congregations from the exclusive use of German to the use of both German and English is frequently rife with misgivings. It would seem the part of wisdom for all who favor English services to avoid even the appearance of attempting an innovation by introducing English preaching. If the English service at once assumes an aspect entirely different from the German, there is danger that the English service will be regarded as an intruder and a foreign element. To circumvent this danger it will be necessary, wherever the forms here offered are adopted, to have the congregation vote its adoption after it has been explained to the members, and not to adopt it so long as even a minority views it with disfavor.—The majority of our congregations which have introduced regular English preaching at their churches have assigned the evening services to this purpose. These congregations will naturally turn to the second order of service in this book, the vesper. This order covers 12 pages. It can be easily learned, and is very beautiful. The service opens with a hymn, the altar service with a versicle, followed by the Gloria Patri; next comes the Psalm, with or without an antiphon, and followed by the Gloria Patri, after that the Lesson, with or without a responsory. The sermon is next in order, after which the offerings are gathered and a hymn is sung. Then follows the Versicle, the Cantic (the Magnificat or the Nunc Dimittis) and Prayer, consisting of the Kyrie and the Lord's Prayer. The Suffrages, the Litanies, or other prayers may here be substituted. The service closes with the Collect prefaced by the Salutation, the Benedicamus, the Benediction, and silent prayer.

Not in A
9/17/1908
RECEIVED

THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

Published by the

Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States.



St. Louis:

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.

Entered at the Post Office at St. Louis, Mo., as second class matter in November 1888.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Cordatus' Controversy with Melancthon.	193
The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary.	208
Faith.	219
Wartburg Letters of Luther.	229
Book Review.	233

THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

VOL. XI.

OCTOBER, 1907.

No. 4.

CORDATUS' CONTROVERSY WITH MELANCHTHON.

The period of unrest at the university of Wittenberg during the year 1536 and the following years affords material for reflection to the psychologist, the historian, and the dogmatist. We behold men whose names have become household words in the Lutheran Church in a curious disagreement with each other. When righteous men differ, they expose not only their points of difference, but also themselves, their character, to public view. And when the matter at issue between them concerns the common faith of Christians, every believer has reason to take notice of the difference and to try to understand its weight. The study of a theological controversy, when rightly pursued, is very useful. It aids the student materially in fixing in his own mind both the *τί* and the *πῶς* of a doctrine, the matter proposed for man's belief and the correct manner of proposing it. The personal features of a controversy — and what controversy was ever without such features? — may not be pleasant and delectable. But even from these features the student may draw wholesome lessons for his own conduct.

In the controversy before us we find a close friend of Luther arrayed against another very dear friend of the Reformer. Cordatus, the pastor of Niemegk, is usually represented as a narrow-minded, quarrelsome character, an orthodox verbalist, a self-seeking worshiper of Luther. His frequent changes of pastorate — Koestlin even speaks of his being driven out of Bohemia — seem to indicate a morose temperament. His

language is often stern. There are occasions when he appears moody and passionate. Melanchthon is usually pictured as a suave, amiable man of learning, peace-loving, considerate, accommodating, and easily affected by strife. Between the two stands Luther, a plain, practical man with a frank and fair-minded heart, a ready perception of the merits of a doctrinal issue,—an unbiased and impartial judge to whom disputants willingly submit their difference and to whose judgment they yield.

But it is not the personal features of the controversy that concern us most. They are merely accidental, and we propose to give them only a passing notice. The important point, in our estimate, is the theological value of the controversy. The *χρονόμενον* in this controversy, as Cordatus viewed it, was the relation of good works to justification, a matter which is seen at a glance to have affected the very heart of the new doctrine. The particular work which Cordatus feared was being unduly pressed as an indispensable requisite for justification was contrition. Contrition had been termed "*noster conatus*," our effort, toward obtaining justifying faith. It is very likely that it was this language that caused Cordatus to stumble, all the more because this effort was termed the *conditio sine qua non* of justification.

In order to understand the contention of Cordatus it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the public statements which the evangelical party up to the year 1536 had made regarding this matter, and to which its followers had become obligated. The *Augsburg Confession* had clearly stated why, and in what respect, justifying faith excludes works, and why, and in what respect, it includes, resp. necessitates them. Art. IV, Of Justification, had declared: "They teach that men cannot be justified [obtain forgiveness of sins and righteousness] before God by their own powers, merits, or works: but are justified freely [of grace] for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor, and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by His death hath satisfied for our sins.

This faith doth God impute for righteousness before Him, Rom. 3 and 4." Art. VI, Of New Obedience, had declared: "They teach that this faith should bring forth good fruits, and that men ought to do the good works commanded of God, because it is God's will, and not on any confidence of meriting justification before God by their works. For remission of sins and justification is apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ witnesseth: 'When ye have done all these things, say, We are unprofitable servants.' The same, also, do the ancient writers of the Church teach; for Ambrose saith: 'This is ordained of God, that he that believeth in Christ shall be saved, without works, by faith alone, freely receiving remission of sins.'" In Art. XX, Of Good Works, we find the following language: "Ours teach, that it is necessary to do good works; not that we may trust that we deserve grace by them, but because it is the will of God that we should do them. By faith alone is apprehended remission of sins and grace. And because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so put on new affections, so that they are able to bring forth good works. For thus saith Ambrose: 'Faith is the begetter of a good will, and of good actions.' . . . Hereby every man may see that this doctrine is not to be accused as forbidding good works, but, rather, is much to be commended, because it sheweth after what sort we must do good works." (Book of Concord, p. 46.)¹ The relation of good works to justification is once more touched upon in Art. XXVII, Of Monastic Vows (p. 60). In the *Apology* the force of the *particulæ exclusivæ* is urged (p. 96, 73), and the confessors state: "Love also and works ought to follow faith. Wherefore, they are not excluded so as not to follow, but *confidence in the merit of love or of works is excluded in justification*." "Good works are to be done on account of God's command, likewise for the exercise of faith, and on account of confession and giving of thanks. For these reasons good works ought necessarily to be done." (115, 68.) "We believe and teach that good works must neces-

1) All references to B. of C. according to Jacobs' Edition.

sarily be done (*for the inchoate fulfilling of the Law ought to follow faith*); nevertheless we ascribe to Christ His own honor." (119, 93.) "No one can infer anything more from this text (1 Cor. 13, 2) than that love is necessary. This we confess. So also not to commit theft is necessary. But the reasoning will not be correct, if some one would desire to frame thence an argument such as this: 'Not to commit theft is necessary. Therefore, not to commit theft, justifies.' Because justification is not the approval of a certain work, but of the entire person. Hence this passage from Paul does not contradict us." (121, 101.) "James has spoken shortly before concerning regeneration, *viz.*, that it occurs through the Gospel. For thus he says (1, 18): 'Of His own will begat He us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of firstfruits of His creatures.' When he teaches that we have been born again by the Gospel, he teaches that we have been born again and justified by faith. For the promise concerning Christ is apprehended only by faith when we set it over against the terrors of sin and of death. James does not, therefore, teach that we are born again by our works." (127, 126.) "Sins are redeemed by repentance, *i. e.*, the obligation of guilt is removed, because God forgives those who repent, as it is written in Ezek. 18, 21. 22. Nor are we to infer hence that He forgives on account of works that follow, on account of alms; but on account of His promise He forgives those who apprehend His promise." (131, 142.) Again and again, in ever varying form and in every possible connection, the *Apology* states, illustrates, urges the essential difference of faith and works, justification and renovation, Law and Gospel. From the *negotium justificationis* works must be excluded utterly. This is one truth which the two primal confessions of the Evangelicals inculcate. On the other hand, they commend good works, as Luther had done, who said: "Extra causam justificationis nemo potest bona opera a Deo praecepta satis magnifice commendare." Such axiomatic utterances of later theologians as these of Kromayer: "Bona opera non praecedunt justificandum, sed sequuntur justificatum;" "Bona

opera non nominibus, sed adverbii sunt dijudicanda, *i. e.*, non tantum bona esse, sed et bene fieri debent" — have grown out of the teaching that was voiced at Augsburg. Yea, the controversies which agitated the Church in the days of Agricola, and, later, of Major were judged in advance by the teaching of the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Apology*, and in composing the differences which had arisen regarding the question of the necessity of good works the framers of the *Form of Concord*, in Art. IV, had recourse to the *Confession of Augsburg* (584, 14).

Galle (*Melanchthon als Theologe*, p. 358 ff.) has reproduced a conversation which took place between Luther and Melanchthon at Bugenhagen's house in the presence of Jonas and Cruciger just before the outbreak of the Cordatus controversy in 1536. It appears that Melanchthon wanted to secure from Luther certain statements regarding the latter's view of the relation of good works to justification. By these statements Melanchthon wished to be guided in his pending interview with delegates from France and England whose arrival in Germany was expected about that time. The conversation is highly interesting and instructive, says Galle, and the reader will agree with him.

Philip: Augustine, it seems, has expressed apter thoughts when not engaged in controversy than when he spoke in controversy. For he speaks as if we must hold that we are righteous by faith, *i. e.*, by our renewal. If this is true, we are righteous not by faith alone, but by all gifts and virtues [bestowed upon us]; and this is what Augustine plainly intends to say. Hence has arisen the scholastic teaching of the grace which renders acceptable (*gratia gratum faciens*). Now, do you believe that a person is righteous by renewal, as Augustine does, or by gratuitous imputation, which takes place outside of us and is by faith, *i. e.*, by confidence which springs from the Word?

Luther: I believe and am quite persuaded and certain that this is the true meaning of the Gospel and of the apostles, that

we are righteous before God solely by His gratuitous imputation.

Philip: Is man righteous solely by God's mercy? It seems that he is not righteous by mercy alone, because our righteousness, *i. e.*, a good conscience based on our works, is necessary. Or do you not intend to grant the statement that a person is righteous principally by faith, and by works as a less principal cause; if faith signifies nothing but confidence, and if it is understood that the fulfillment of the Law is not required in order that confidence may remain sure, but that faith supplies what is lacking as regards the Law? You grant a twofold righteousness and also that both are necessary in the sight of God, namely, the righteousness of faith and that other, of a good conscience, in which faith supplies what is lacking in regard to the Law. What else is this than saying that a person is not justified by faith alone? You surely do not take the act of being justified (*justificari*) for the beginning of regeneration, as Augustine does. Augustine does not hold that men are saved freely but by virtues which have been bestowed upon them. What do you think of this opinion of Augustine? Augustine's whole view of the matter of merits is different from ours, and puts aside nothing but the merit of an ungodly person.

Luther: I hold that a person becomes, is, and remains righteous, or a righteous person, simply by mercy alone. For this righteousness is perfect; it is set up over against God's wrath, death, and sin, and swallows up all these, and renders a person absolutely (*simpliciter*) holy and innocent, just as if, in reality, there were no sin in him, as John says: "Whosoever is born of God sinneth not." For to be born of God and, at the same time, to be a sinner, is a contradiction. After this righteousness a person is, and is called, righteous by his work, or fruits, which God, indeed, both requires of him and rewards. This righteousness I call external and a righteousness of works, and it cannot be absolutely (*simpliciter*) holy, while a person sojourns in the flesh and in this present life. Accordingly, it

neither removes death nor sin, nor can it offer resistance to them, but merely prevents future and greater sins.

Philip: What about regenerated Paul? Whereby was Paul, after he was born again, forthwith righteous, *i. e.*, accepted?

Luther: By nothing else, of course, than by his new birth through faith, by which he was made righteous and ever thereafter remained righteous and accepted.

Philip: Is he righteous only for mercy's sake? Or is he righteous chiefly on account of God's mercy, and in a remote way (*minus principaliter*) on account of his virtues, or works?

Luther: No; on the contrary, the virtues and works are righteous because of the righteous Paul [their doer], just as a work is pleasing or displeasing on account of the person who performs it, as even Terence states. For a good work performed by an evil person is accepted not even with men.

Philip: It seems that one is righteous not by God's mercy alone. For you teach yourself that the righteousness of works is necessary, and that, in the sight of God. And Paul is acceptable both as a believer and as a doer; if he were not a doer, he would not be acceptable. Hence, our own righteousness is, at least, a kind of partial cause (*aliqua partialis causa*).

Luther: It is necessary; however, not by a legal necessity, or one of compulsion, but by a gratuitous necessity, or one of consequence, or of an unalterable condition. As the sun shines by necessity, if it is a sun, and yet does not shine by demand, but by its nature and its unalterable will, so to speak, because it was created for the purpose that it should shine, so a person created righteous performs new works by an unalterable necessity, not by legal compulsion. For to the righteous no law is given. Further, we are created, says Paul, unto good works. By the way, your remark, If he were not a doer, he would not be acceptable, states by implication that it is impossible to be a believer and not a doer.

Philip: For this reason Sadoletus claims we are making contradictory statements, because we say a person is justified

by faith alone, and yet state that the righteousness of works is necessary.

Luther: Ah, but it is because false brethren and hypocrites pretend faith that works are demanded, in order that they may be confounded in their hypocrisy, just as Elijah demanded works of the priests of Baal, on which occasion Baal was confounded. For in this manner God, too, necessarily does nothing but what is good, and yet without law.

Philip: When you say that we are justified by faith alone, do you refer only to the beginning (of justification), I mean, to the remission of sins? Or do you mean to say that regenerated Paul was accepted, also after his regeneration, not on account of his own obedience and virtues, at least partly on account of them, but only on account of God's mercy?

Luther: You should rather say that Paul's obedience is accepted because Paul is a believer, otherwise his obedience would not be accepted at all. And when a person is righteous by faith, he is righteous for all time, as long as his faith remains. It is, therefore, an unhappy distinction to divide a person (as far as he is a believer) into beginning, middle, and end. Accordingly, a person's works shine because they are rays of his faith, and are accepted because of his faith, not vice versa. Otherwise, in the matter of justification, the works which follow faith would be more excellent, and thus, faith would be justifying faith only in the beginning, afterwards it would step aside and cease and would leave the distinction (of justifying a person) to works, and become void and defunct.

Philip: Paul is righteous, *i. e.*, accepted unto eternal life, by God's mercy alone. On the other hand, if there were not superadded —

Luther: That is impossible!

Philip: — a partial cause, namely, his obedience, he would not be saved, according to the passage: "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel!"

Luther: There is no partial cause superadded, because faith is always operative, or it is not faith. Hence, no matter

what works are or what their value may be, their whole existence and value is due to the glorious virtue of faith which is the sun from which these rays cannot but (*inevitabiliter*) radiate.

Philip: In Augustine's teaching the phrase "by faith alone" excludes only the works which precede faith.

Luther: That may or may not be so, nevertheless the statement of Augustine: "I shall be troubled, but I shall not be confounded, because I bear in mind the wounds of the Lord," sufficiently shows that he agrees with us. For, there he clearly believes that faith avails in the beginning, middle, end, and for all time, as David says: "With Thee is forgiveness," and again: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant."

Philip: Is this statement correct: The righteousness of works is necessary for salvation?

Luther: Works are necessary not because they effect or obtain salvation, but they are present with, and accompany, faith which obtains salvation, just as I must necessarily be present when I am to be saved. *Ich werde auch darbey sein, sagt jehner gesel.* What Sadoletus imagines is probably this, that faith is a work demanded by the divine Law, like charity, obedience, chastity, etc. Accordingly, a believer fulfills one, or rather the first part of the Law, and thus has the beginning of justification or of righteousness. However, when the beginning has been secured, the fulfillment of the other commandments enjoining works, after faith has been obtained, is also required. There you see that Sadoletus has no understanding at all regarding this business. For if faith were a work demanded of us, Sadoletus would be altogether right, and in that case faith would in the same way begin to renew a person as other works, performed afterwards, continue to renew him. But we claim that faith is a work of promise, or a gift of the Holy Spirit, and that it is, indeed, necessary, in order that the Law be fulfilled, but is not obtained by the Law and its works. However, this gift, when once bestowed, renders a person forever new, and such a person thereupon proceeds to perform new works, not vice versa, *viz.*, new works do not make the person

new. Thus the works of Paul are accepted, not because they are good, but because Paul, who performs them, is an accepted person; and they would not be accepted, unless Paul were accepted. Accordingly, the righteousness of a person in the sight of God is in no wise owing to his works, although they shall redound contingently to the person's honor, because of certain rewards (which will follow them). But they do not justify a person. For we are all equally righteous in the one Christ; we are equally beloved and accepted as to our persons, though one star differ from another in brightness. But God does not love Saturn more than He does the sun or the moon. Briefly, believers are new creatures, new trees; accordingly, the aforementioned demands of the Law do not apply to them, *e. g.*, *faith must do good works*, just as it is not proper so say: *the sun must shine, a good tree must produce good fruit, 3+7 must equal 10*. For the sun shines *de facto*, a good tree is productive *de facto*, 3+7 equal 10 *de facto*. It is their property, not to become, or to be compelled to be, but to be in very deed. (You must grant this), unless you would make the statement conditional and hypothetical, and say: *If the sun is a sun, it must needs shine; if you wish to be a believer, it is necessary that you are active*. But such language might be employed in reference to a painted sun or a fictitious faith; to speak thus of true faith and the real sun would be ridiculous. —

This friendly dispute was taken down in writing by those present, and sixteen years later, in 1552, when engaged in controversy with Andrew Osiander of Koenigsberg, Melanchthon published it as an appendix to a polemical tract. His aim was to show that Osiander could not claim Luther as his ally, when contending that in justification man is *made* righteous, because the righteousness, or holiness, of God is imparted to him. Melanchthon had well understood Luther's mind, and was able to represent Luther's teaching. We shall bear these facts in mind, and now turn to Cordatus.

It was on July 24, 1536, when Cordatus, who happened to be in Wittenberg, went to the university and attended a lecture

of Cruciger. Cruciger was commenting on the Gospel of John, and in the course of his lecture said: "Christ alone is the meritorious cause; meanwhile it is true, nevertheless, that man must be active in a manner; we must be contrite, and must rouse our conscience by means of the Word, in order that we may conceive faith. Thus, our contrition and our effort are indispensable prerequisites of justification." (*Tantum Christus est causa propter quem; interim tamen verum est, homines agere aliquid oportere, nos habere contritionem, et debere verbo erigere conscientiam, ut fidem concipiamus. Ita nostra contritio et noster conatus sunt causae justificationis sine quibus non.* Corpus Reformat. III, 159.) Cordatus was startled by this statement. Bretschneider says, he was *animo offensus*, because he held Cruciger's statement to be out of harmony with the genuine doctrine of justification as set forth by Luther. It does not appear that he challenged Cruciger at once, but happening to visit Melanchthon immediately after the lecture, Cordatus spent an entire evening discussing the matter with him. Ibid. 3, 350. He went home ruminating what he had heard. On August 20th he addressed a letter to Cruciger. The letter is not extant. It attacked the position which Cruciger had taken in his lecture. Cruciger did not reply. On September 8th Cordatus addressed a second letter to Cruciger. Bretschneider, who has discovered this letter, states that it is written in a confused style and in a wretched manner. He reproduces a part of it, which reads: "I wrote you August 20th regarding the lecture which you delivered July 24th, and which I heard, and stated how I had been wounded in conscience by same. And I asked you, accordingly, to heal me. However, since you have not done so hitherto, you must not take it amiss, nor feel surprised, if I seem now to write to you things that are rather harsh. — Accordingly, when you continue proclaiming your sophistry, or your popish teaching, or your philosophy, why shall not I continue contradicting you and confessing the faith which I have in Christ? Moreover, I believe that by so doing I act from a consideration of the honor and reverence

due you all, because, years ago, you at Wittenberg have taught me the faith wherein I stand. If what you have stated publicly in your lecture and what I now maintain firmly to be an error contrary to the article of justification, *i. e.*, against the salvation of men, will be publicly corrected by you, either in my presence or absence, I shall hold my peace; if not, I shall take my charge against you before the venerable theological faculty of Wittenberg, that they may pass judgment on you and on me, and on this mooted matter, which affects the cause of Christ. I shall not appeal to Dr. Mart. Luther, that only man through whom we have become believers in Christ, nor shall I call on him while this matter remains undecided, unless called upon to do so or forced by some necessity, so as not to give occasion to slander to the mock-theologians, of whom there are not a few at Wittenberg among your learned linguists, and who would rather read the dead Erasmus than hear and read the living Luther." True, this was blunt language, — *asperiora*, as Cordatus terms it. And there is a spice of humanity in the strong admiration expressed for Luther, which causes Bretschneider to bring his excerpt to an abrupt close, with the remark: "Cordatus has added many other things, the gist of which is that not a syllable (*non verbum*) of Luther's teaching on this doctrine must be abandoned." Evidently, Cruciger had met with an opponent who disdained gloves. But that is unessential. The question is: Was Cordatus justified in taking exception to the teaching to which he had listened?

We have Cruciger's reply, dated September 10. "I had just begun to answer your former letter, my dear Cordatus, when some unforeseen occurrence prevented me from completing my answer, and in the meantime I have been away from home, and afterwards did not think that there was need of hurry, because I believed that your fervor had cooled, and, that being the case, we could personally discuss the matter some time in an amicable manner. However, I observe, even without your effort, that the heat of which I spoke has rather increased, and I would not expose myself to it lest I add oil to the flames.

And besides, naturally I do nothing more reluctantly than fight. Accordingly, I shall, first of all, implore you with all my heart for Christ's sake not to stir up something out of which there might arise an offense among us in an unessential matter (*non necessaria de causa*); for you observe that already everything is filled with disturbance and scandals. — Replying, next, to the matter that is now between us, and in order to do this as briefly as possible, without introducing matters that are foreign to the subject, and laying aside, or, if you will, rather passing over until some future time other matters which you have stirred up plentifully enough, I am constrained to say, — however, without malice to you, — that you have done me wrong, — although I do not interpret your action so as to say that you have done so intentionally, — because in your former writing you say, when rehearsing a sentence from my lecture, that this was the way I expressed myself: 'We are justified by our works, these being, as it were, the indispensable prerequisite.' I never spoke thus, nor did I hold that view, nor has any person in our school, as far as I know, spoken thus: 'We are justified by our works;' but while expounding the statement (*exclusio*) of Paul: 'We are justified by faith,' I expressly stated that Christ was nevertheless the meritorious cause of justification. Thereupon I added the further remark in this statement: 'We are justified freely,' and said that contrition was not excluded but was necessary in a person that was to be justified, and I called our contrition *causa sine qua non*, because without it faith cannot exist. Nor did I wish to lay down a law to anybody, compelling him to use this expression *causa sine qua non*, but I considered it no improper expression. I ask you, in the first place, whether you believe contrition to be necessary in a person that is to be justified. If you answer this question, as I confidently expect you to do, I desire to be shown in what way contrition is required, and in what terms you would have this matter expressed and explained, and if my expressions are not acceptable, that you suggest better ones. For about words I shall not wrangle either with

you or with anybody else. However, if we do not differ as regards the matter, I pray you to grant me liberty to employ terms which are of recognized usage in schools and are considered adapted for teaching. You will greatly oblige me by teaching me a better way.—I wished to say this much in all brevity at the present time, lest you should think that I meant to ignore you, and these are certainly the main points. If you offer any other points, I shall, if need be, reply to them at greater length.” (l. c. 3, 159.)

The general tone of this letter is considerate. As regards the explanation which Cruciger offers for not writing sooner, it is hardly fair. An educated gentleman can afford to ignore undue fervor on the part of his opponent, but a conscientious theologian cannot afford to ignore a challenge of his teaching. A prompt reply acknowledging the opponent's perfect right to offer criticism and meeting him, in a matter-of-fact way, on the points controverted, would have been proper. Cordatus replied September 17th, as follows: “Your letter of September 10th, my dear Doctor, was handed me on the seventeenth, and I shall reply in the order of its contents. In the first place, your statement that the principal reason why you deferred answering was because you were in hopes that my fervor would subside, I regard as well-intentioned, although I wrote you nothing about my fervor, but about my grief and pain. Secondly, as regards your reluctance to fight, I know that to be quite so, and just as much do I wish that no one, no matter how modest and kind-hearted he may be, would commit anything for which he must be fought to a finish. Thirdly, you request me not to stir up something out of which offenses might arise. On this point I shall certainly show myself open to entreaty. But as regards the reason which you offer, *viz.*, that already everything is filled with unrest and scandals, I reply that this circumstance shall not deter me from raising objections, if anybody offends against the faith of Christ, for it is impossible to teach and to defend one's teaching without unrest and scandals. Let Christ who has sent this sword remove it, and unrest and scandals will

cease. In regard to your third point, that I have wronged you, I answer candidly, first, that my hearing and memory must have been very bad if you lectured only on contrition. And, indeed, if it is as you say, I have stirred up plenty of trouble, as you write, and I add, more than plenty. Secondly, you acknowledge that you have termed our contrition *causa sine qua non*. Does not this one work alone give me the same ground for objecting to your lecture, as all our works would, which latter I believe to have heard you say? Furthermore, I wonder why contrition is being urged so much now and why you do not rather urge, in the place of contrition, that phrase which you have used formerly in teaching and writing, *viz.*, that faith is not without repentance, so that our present would harmonize with our former teaching, which is most certainly correct. For Christ demands that repentance and faith should be preached in His name. I do not deny contrition, but since the term contrition was coined (*commissus*) under popery, etc., my suspicion would be roused and I would believe that an innovation was being introduced that is not quite desirable. Accordingly, for the present I do not answer your question whether contrition is necessary for justification. I should, indeed, readily reject the expression *necessary*, if it were understood in the same sense as those understand it who cast up the question, Whether a Christian ought to do good works. I should answer, that it is not necessary. Regarding the proper mode of explaining this matter of contrition I say,—not wanting to teach you, but answering your question,—that (by using this expression) I would be explaining a term of clear signification by one of obscure meaning, and since Christ commanded repentance and faith to be preached for the remission of sins, those terms should be recognized in all schools and should answer all purposes. For thus Christ taught and regarded those terms as adapted for teaching when He began teaching and when He ceased. I shall follow Christ and His apostles in my phraseology as much as I can. I have said goodbye to other terms. This is what I wished to say in all brevity in reply to your letter rather than

in regard to our controversy. I have done so quite hurriedly because there happened to be a messenger ready to carry my reply. Besides, I see that it will be necessary that I come to see you. May Christ by His Spirit preserve mutual concord and unity of doctrine among you. Amen. Farewell to you and to your entire family, and remember the man from whom you have heard and learned the theology of Christ, namely, our teacher Luther, who is the doctor among the doctors of theology." (l. c. 3, 161.)

(To be continued.)

THE PROOF TEXTS OF THE CATECHISM WITH A PRACTICAL COMMENTARY.

(Continued.)

MAN. — THE IMAGE OF GOD.

Gen. 2, 7: *And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.*

Man consists of body and soul. His body was formed of the dust of the ground. Into man's nostrils God *breathed the breath of life*, i. e., a breath that produced life. This breathing was a creative act of God whereby He made *ex nihilo* the human soul, uniting it with the body. Thus man became a living soul. Adam, as he came from the hands of God, was at once an intelligent, moral being; a person physically mature with mental and moral endowments of a very high order both in kind and degree, as a study of the Mosaic record Gen. 1—3 reveals. Of his passing by degrees through a brute existence till he finally reached a superior state, Scripture knows nothing. Hence the theory of Evolution is wrong.

Gen. 1, 27: *God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them.*

"Another antisciptural assumption hopelessly exploded and untenable even in the light of scientific induction is that primeval man was androgynous. Man was not created a monstrosity, but the first human being was a male person, and on the same day with the first man a second human being, a mature female person, woman, was made, Matt. 19, 4; Gen. 2, 18. 21—24. The sexes are not a result of gradual differentiation, but *in the beginning*, when God made the first ancestors of our race, He *made them male and female.*" (Dr. Graebner in THEOL. QUART., III, 131.)

The text speaks of man's being created in the image of God. What this means the following passages will show.

Col. 3, 10: *Put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him.*

Eph. 4, 24: *Put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.*

The context contrasts the *old man* with the *new man*. The *old man* is our sinful nature, "*corrupt according to the deceitful lusts,*" Eph. 4, 22. These deceitful lusts are the ruling principle of the old man. He manifests himself in the "*former conversation,*" in the mode of life before conversion. Such life the apostle calls the walk of the Gentiles. In this condition men have "the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them because of the blindness of their heart." It is the state of unregenerate man, who has not yet learned Christ. See Eph. 4, 17—20. Natural man is *πᾶλος ἀνθρώπος* pure and simple. The *new man*, on the other hand, is the new life, the new principle, the gifts of grace, given to man in his conversion by the Holy Ghost.

Whence is this new nature? Is it of our own procuring? No. "*The new man . . . is created.*" The *καὶνὸς ἀνθρώπος* is wrought by a creative act of God in man's conversion, Eph. 2, 10. In Christ man becomes a *new creature*, a *καὶνὴ κτίσις*, 2 Cor. 5, 17; Gal. 6, 15. Before the Fall, man, made in the

likeness of God, was perfectly righteous and holy; his *will* was completely in harmony with the holy will of God; he possessed a deep *knowledge* — ἐπίγνωσις — of God's essence and will. Through the Fall all was lost. Its sad consequences are depicted in such passages as Rom. 3, 24; Eph. 5, 8; 2 Cor. 3, 5. Nothing in natural man is of the image of God. In order to restore it, a new-creation had to take place, a renewal had to be effected, hence the texts say "the new man is *renewed*," "*is created*." This is done in the Christians. The new man is created "in *righteousness* and *true holiness*," and is "renewed in *knowledge*." *Righteousness* over against the neighbor; *holiness*, true piety, towards God; *knowledge* of God's essence and will are the manifestations of this new life.

This new man is a reflection of the image of God. The text reads: "The new man which *after God* is created," etc., that is, as the passage in Colossians so beautifully explains: κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτόν, *after the image of Him that created him*. Manifestly the apostle alludes to the words spoken by God at the Creation: "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," Gen. 1, 26. God is a Spirit, hence cannot be represented by any material form. Righteousness, holiness, knowledge—the resemblance to God in these divine perfections—are constituent parts of the image of God. Righteousness, holiness, knowledge, have their seat in the will and the intellect of man. So the image of God had its seat primarily in man's *intellect* and *will*.

In these divine perfections, it is true, a *beginning* only is made in the believers in this life, as is evident also from the admonition: "*Put on the new man*." Again and again the Christian puts on the new man; he increases in sanctification. By daily contrition and repentance the old Adam is drowned and dies with all sins and evil lusts, and again, a new man daily comes forth and arises. Thus the new man asserts himself. See Eph. 4, 23—32. But since the righteousness, holiness, and knowledge in the believers constitute the incipient restoration of the image of God, the image lost, in its perfect

state, was an image of God's righteousness and holiness; the intellect of the first man was an image of the knowledge which is in God.

Luther says: "The divine image in which Adam was created was the noblest and most glorious feature, namely, that neither his reason nor his will had become tainted with the leprosy of sin. . . . His intellect was pure, his memory good and fresh, his will upright and true, and, withal, he possessed a very good, pure, and calm conscience, without a single care and without the fear of death. . . . Hence, I understand the image of God to have been in Adam essentially, and that by its means Adam not only knew God and believed in Him, as in a benevolent Being, but also led a wholly divine life, void of the fear of death and of every danger."

Gen. 5, 3: *Adam begat a son in his own likeness, after his image; and called him Seth.*

The close proximity in which this statement stands to Gen. 5, 1: "In the day that God created man, in the *likeness of God made He him,*" adds a peculiar stress to the inherent emphasis in the phrases of the present passage: *in his own* (Adam's) *likeness, after his image*. Adam had fallen into sin; the image of God was lost. Seth was not begotten in the likeness of God, but in the likeness of fallen Adam. Not the image of God was transmitted to Adam's progeny, but Adam's *own* sinful image. — In the believers a beginning is made of the renewal of God's image, as was shown in preceding passages; fully restored it will be in the life to come, as the psalmist says:

Ps. 17, 15: *I will behold Thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness.*

In the name of all believing children of God, the psalmist voices his living hope of a blissful life after death and beyond the grave. — *When I awake* from the sleep of death, *I will behold Thy face*: I shall see Thee, God, as Thou art, and by this beatific seeing of Thee *I shall be satisfied*. Thou, God, wilt be

my meat and my drink, my joy, my salvation. I shall behold Thy face *in righteousness*, in perfect innocence and righteousness. Thy image will be perfectly restored to me, for when I awake, it will be *with Thy likeness*.

What a clear testimony of the Old Testament is this as to the resurrection of the body and the renewal of the image of God! Involuntarily it reminds one of the language of St. John: "*We shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is,*" 1 John 3, 3.

Ps. 139, 14: *I will praise Thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvelous are Thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well.*

The almighty dictum of God: "Let there be!" called into existence marvelous works, Gen. 1. The crown of creation, however, is man. Contemplating his own body, this masterpiece of God's workmanship, the psalmist, touched with awe, exclaims: "I am fearfully and wonderfully made," i. e., I am made in an astonishingly wonderful manner.—On the basis of this text the catechumens should be led to see man's superiority over all other creatures of God's handiwork. This knowledge should induce them to say with the inspired singer: "I will praise Thee."

DIVINE PROVIDENCE: 1. PRESERVATION; 2. GOVERNMENT.

Acts 17, 27. 28: *He is not far from every one of us: for in Him we live, and move, and have our being.*

Athens, the center of culture, art, literature, and science, knew not God. She proclaimed her ignorance loudly to all the world on one of her temples by the humiliating inscription: "To the Unknown God." Paul saw the city wholly given to idolatry, and his spirit was stirred within him. On the summit of the Areopagus Christianity and paganism met. Confronted by adherents of the Stoic and the Epicurean systems of philosophy, — pantheists and atheists, — surrounded by temples filled and ornamented with gods and goddesses, the objects of heathen idolatry, Paul discourses on the Creation, the Preser-

vation, and the Government of the world by this "Unknown God."

A close analysis of this speech, which the scope of this article precludes, would show how Paul fearlessly hurls blow after blow with telling effect at the philosophic systems of the day.

From this masterful oration our text is taken. Having told them "that God made the world and all things therein," v. 24, he goes on to say: "*It is He that giveth unto all life, and breath, and all things.*" God created the world; it still exists. God created us; we exist. The existence of the world, our own existence, is not due to self-preservation, but to God's sustaining power. He gives to all *life* — ζῶν — that is, life in itself; not only that, but He gives to all *breath* — πνοή — the continuation of life by means of breathing; not only that, but He gives to all *all things* — τὰ πάντα — everything necessary to maintain this life.

The true God, says Paul furthermore, is in no way similar to your dead idols enthroned in the temple of Mars nearby or in the Parthenon below me. In temples made with hands the Deity does not dwell. "He," God, "*is not far from every one of us.*" The true God is nigh us, protects us, sustains us. "*In Him we live*" — without Him we should have no life. "*In Him we move*" — without Him we could not move from place to place, we could not lift our arms or open our mouths. "*In Him we have our being*" — without Him we should have no existence at all.

This was strange doctrine to the heathen philosophers of that day; it is a matter of jest to the philosophers of our day. Worldly-wise philosophers, "men of science," as they love to style themselves, whether of the first century or of the twentieth, are but ignorant idolaters.

Hebr. 1, 3: *He upholds all things by the word of His power.*

God *upholds*, i. e., maintains, *all things*, the whole world. If God would withdraw His hand from this world but for a

single moment, it must collapse, chaos must ensue. "God has not forsaken His work, as the architect leaves the house when it is finished, but He preserves all things and governs them by His paternal providence." (Dietrich.) Of God's government the next passage speaks.

Ps. 33, 13—15: *The Lord looketh from heaven; He beholdeth all the sons of men. From the place of His habitation He looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth. He fashioneth their hearts alike; He considereth all their works.*

This beautiful anthropomorphism, representing God as seated upon His throne of majesty, looking down upon the doings of men, forcibly teaches the great truth that God is not unconcerned about the affairs on earth. "*He looketh from heaven,*" and of all the millions of people not one escapes His all-seeing eye, for "*He beholdeth all the sons of men, He looketh upon all the inhabitants of the earth.*" Nor is He an idle spectator, allowing men to do as they please, but "*He fashioneth their hearts alike,*" i. e., He fashioneth the hearts of them all, "*He considereth all their works.*" All things and all the affairs of men are in His hands, subject to His control and direction.

Ps. 145, 15. 16: *The eyes of all wait upon Thee; and Thou givest them their meat in due season. Thou openest Thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.*

Though God can preserve our lives without any earthly means (Moses on Mount Sinai for forty days, Ex. 34, 28), and though He can provide the necessities of life, directly (Deut. 8, 3. 4, Israel in the desert; 1 Kings 17, Elijah; the widow), still it is His good pleasure to provide for our sustenance mediately. In the sweat of our brow we are to earn our livelihood. Who will not work shall not eat, says the apostle. But it is God who preserves our strength, our skill, etc., which enable us to obtain our daily bread. It is He that promised: "*While the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not*

cease," Gen. 8, 22. It is He that "maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," Matt. 5, 45. It is He that "giveth rain in his season; He reserveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest," Jer. 5, 24. The words of our text, teaching the universality of God's providence, are literally true. Our *meat*, i. e., our food, our nourishment, is a *gift* of God. "*Thou givest them their meat in due season.*" And for Him it is a trifling matter to provide for the millions of His creatures. He has but to *open His hand* and they are satisfied. May God through His Word lead us to know this more and more so as to receive our daily bread with thanksgiving! Then while performing the work of our calling industriously, we will commit the success of our labor to God, and thus escape the carking cares for the morrow.

1 Pet. 5, 7: *Cast all your care upon Him; for He careth for you.*

The section from which this passage is taken treats of the cross of the Christians. They are exhorted: "Humble yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God that He may exalt you in due time," v. 6. Closely connected with this Christian humility is confidence, trust, in God. " *Casting all your care upon Him.*" Trials of faith produce cares, spiritual cares. These they are to cast upon God in fervent prayer. But Christians are also oppressed by temporal cares, cares for food, raiment, and the like. These, too, they are to cast upon God. Christians are not to bear their lot stoically, in dull resignation. Thus the children of the world suffer the sorrows that befall them. In its last analysis this sentiment is despair. In the trials of this life, both spiritual and temporal, the thought oftentimes assails the Christian: God has forsaken thee! No, says the apostle, not so. These cares, of whatever nature they may be, are not to make us doubt God's grace and mercy. Whatever may betide: "*cast all your care upon Him.*" Why can the Christian cheerfully do that? "*He careth for you.*"

It is not a blind fate that rules over your lives, but God, your Father, guides you, protects you, provides for you. *He careth for you*, He is mindful of you, His fatherly eye rests upon you. He will not allow you to be tempted above that you are able to bear. Hence trust this Father in childlike confidence, and cast *all* your cares — also the temporal cares — upon Him, and rest assured: The Lord will provide.

Matt. 10, 29. 30: *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.*

God's government extends even to the smallest and most trifling matters. This comforting truth is most beautifully set forth here by an *argumentum a minore ad majus*.

The word *farthing*, δαράριον, was used among the Greeks to designate any small, insignificant amount. Its value, in our money, is about five-eighths of a cent. Two sparrows sold for five-eighths of a cent! "*And yet*" (καί) God cares for them; *one of them shall not fall on the ground* — dead — without God's permission. To the sparrows God stands but in the relation of the Creator to the creature. To you, however, He stands in the relation of a *father* to a child. Emphatically God is called "*your Father*." The Creator who cares for the meanest of His creatures, *e. g.*, the sparrows, will not He care for you, His child, whom He has bought with a price? Why, you are so precious in His sight that His care extends to *the very hairs of your head* — trifling matter as that may seem. Every one of them is numbered.

"Our Lord's line of argument here is in precisely the contrary direction to that which men often follow on this subject. They will say that no doubt God controls great matters, but that it is questionable whether His care extends to such little things as the concerns of an individual man. Jesus says, God takes care of the smallest and most trifling things, and therefore we may be sure He cares for man, who is so much more important." (Broadus.)

Ps. 91, 10: *There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling.*

This is said of them that have made the Most High their habitation, v. 9, that is to say, the true children of God. They have the assurance that no *evil* shall befall them, and no *plague* shall come nigh unto them. Troubles and afflictions may assail them, the cross will enter their threshold, yet there shall not be a real *evil* in all this, for it comes from the love of God and is sent not for their hurt, but for their good, as St. Paul expressly declares: "We know that *all things* work together *for good* to them that love God," Rom. 8, 28. "Now no chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grievous: nevertheless, afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteousness unto them that are exercised thereby," Hebr. 12, 11. "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him," Ps. 126, 4. 5.

Gen. 50, 20: *Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive.*

These words Joseph spoke to his brothers when they craved his forgiveness for the evil they had done unto him. He contrasts the evil intents of men to the good intents of God, showing how God overrules the evil for good. God's government extends also to the evil. It is not His will that evil should be done, but when it is committed, He directs its consequences. Joseph was sold into slavery by his brothers. They "*thought evil against him.*" Reason asks, Why did God not prevent this abominable deed? God, looking into the future, "*meant it unto good.*" Not only did Joseph become a great man — thus evil turned into good for him — but God, controlling the evil for good, "*brought it to pass to save much people alive.*" Among these people saved alive were the very brothers of Joseph. It was for their welfare also that God overruled their evil act. They did not deserve it, but God is kind.

Ps. 37, 5: *Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him; and He shall bring it to pass.*

The entire course of our life is pictured as a way over which we Christians travel to reach our heavenly destination. On this way there are obstructions to impede our progress—trials, cares, afflictions manifold are encountered. What are we to do in the face of such dangers? "*Commit thy way unto the Lord,*" or as St. Peter says, "Cast all your care upon Him," and then, whatever may betide, *trust in Him* as in a most faithful counselor and guide and an ever-present help in every need, *and He shall bring it to pass*, He will bring it to a good end. Appropriating the words of the psalmist, we may confidently exclaim: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me," Ps. 23, 4.

Ps. 103, 13: *Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear Him.*

All the divine blessings spoken of in the preceding passages the Lord showers upon "*them that fear Him,*" upon the Christians. What impels Him to do it? Any merit or worthiness in us? No. God owes us nothing. "When ye shall have done all those things commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do," Luke 17, 10. So, even though we had fulfilled all the commandments of God, the idea of merit would be excluded. Moreover, though we belong to the number of *them that fear Him*, yet we are *sinners*, and do not deserve to be helped. David's plea must ever remain ours: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant." What, then, prompts God to bless us so abundantly? The answer is found in the text: "The Lord *pitieth* them that fear Him," or as the psalmist says in another place: "*For He is good: because His mercy endureth forever,*" Ps. 118, 1. His *pity*, i. e., His *mercy* wherewith He attends the miserable; His *goodness*, i. e., His *love* whereby He bestows blessings—these are His only motives. And God *pitieth* us "*as a father*

pitieth his children." A *fatherly* pity, a *fatherly* mercy is one such as a dear father entertains and manifests towards his dear children. And since it is the *Lord* that has pity on us, this mercy is a *divine* mercy, such as only God can entertain and show, one that is altogether perfect, and one "*that endureth forever,*" Ps. 118, 1.

Now, since God does all this purely out of fatherly, divine goodness and mercy, we are constrained to confess with Jacob:

Gen. 32, 10: *I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth, which Thou hast showed unto Thy servant.*

On returning home, after an absence of twenty years, Jacob reviews his past life. His heart expands with the goodness of his God, for what he beholds is all *mercy*, all *truth*. God had faithfully kept His promises, and overwhelmed him with blessings manifold as from an inexhaustible store. Though Jacob is a *servant* of the Lord, yet he knows that he has deserved none of the things bestowed upon him; they are due only to God's mercy and truth. He is *not worthy of the least* of all mercies received.

This is the sentiment of every true Christian. Hence he asks with the psalmist: "What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits toward me?" Ps. 116, 12. And the answer is found in Ps. 118, 1: "O give thanks unto the Lord; for He is good: because His mercy endureth forever."

Springfield, Ill.

LOUIS WESSEL.

(To be continued.)

FAITH.

(Continued.)

When the subject-matter of faith is proposed to a person for his apperception and cognition, there is an appeal made not to the intellect alone, but to the will. The will of the carnal mind, this intensely hostile factor, is asked to surrender, to lay down its arms, to cease its attacks upon the strange truths pro-

posed for his belief. *Faith*, from the first moment of its existence, is *assent* to the new and exalted phenomena presented to the mind. It is the devout amen of the heart to the teaching of the Spirit of God. The divine economy of grace regulates its efforts toward the unbeliever accordingly. The preaching of faith proceeds not simply in the order of plain statements of fact, logical reasonings, stringent conclusions, but it is hortatory, pleading, persuasive. In its grammatical form it is presented not only in the indicative mood but also in the imperative and optative moods, thus conveying an earnest and authoritative appeal to the affections, to the will, rather than submitting merely a fact to the judgment of the intellect. Repent and believe the Gospel! Be ye reconciled to God! Come unto me! Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die? If Israel would repent, the cover would be removed, etc. — such urgings and requests as these are addressed to man with the aim to excite faith in him. Yielding to such calls, accepting the invitation that is being extended, willing to embrace that which is being offered, this is of the essence of faith. The activity of the apostles in preaching the Gospel is, accordingly, described as “*persuading* the things concerning the kingdom of God,” Acts 19, 8; “*persuading* one to be a Christian,” Acts 26, 28; “*persuading* men concerning Jesus,” Acts 28, 23. And the persuading efforts of the Gospel are continued also to such as had accepted its offer some time previous: these the apostles are still “*persuading* to continue in the grace of God,” Acts 13, 43. Cremer suggests as the proper rendering for *πειθεῖν* in all these places “to discourse on a matter with winning words.” (Woerterb., 7. ed., p. 726.) Again, those toward whom these persuasive efforts are directed and who yield to them, so as to accept them, give credence to them, or believe them, are said to *πειθεσθαι*, to suffer themselves to be persuaded, won over. The rich glutton’s brothers “will not be persuaded” (Luther: *glauben*), “though one rose from the dead,” Luke 16, 31. In the synagogue of the Jews at Thessalonica Paul on three Sabbaths “reasoned with” (*διελέγeto*) Jews and Greeks, “opening

and alleging (διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος) that Jesus is Christ;" and the result was: some of them "believed" (ἐπεισθῆσαν; Luther: *fielen ihm zu*), Acts 17, 3. 4. In Paul's lodging at Rome, when the apostle "expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading his hearers concerning Jesus," a division occurred: "some believed the things which were spoken (ἐπειθόντο τοῖς λεγομένοις), and some believed not" (Luther: *etliche fielen zu, etliche glaubten nicht*), Acts 28, 24. (Comp. Acts 5, 40: "to him they agreed," ἐπεισθῆσαν; Luther: *da fielen sie ihm zu*; Acts 23, 21: "do not thou yield unto them," μὴ πεισθῇς; Luther: *traue ihnen nicht*). Paul's enemies know not how to characterize the apostle's activity by a more befitting term than by charging him with "persuading men," and by pointing out the effects of his persuading, which seemed to them destructive of the old creeds, Acts 18, 13; 19, 26. People were observed to cast aside their former beliefs and to make a new choice, in consequence of Paul's preaching. In like manner the apostle himself speaks of his office 2 Cor. 5, 11; Gal. 1, 10.

Πείθειν implies indecision, unwillingness, resistance in the person to whom it is being applied, and its aim is to remove that resistance and to create willingness in the place of reluctance, firmness in the place of wavering. A few instances from secular affairs recorded in Scripture may serve to illustrate this force of the verb. In their effort to avert the threatened invasion of Herod the delegation from Tyre and Sidon proceeded to gain the good-will of the king's chamberlain, Blastus, whom they "made their friend" (πείσαντες; Luther: *ueberredeten*), Acts 12, 20. A declared enemy was on this occasion prevailed upon to abandon his hostile attitude, and converted into a friend. The Authorized Version in this place has hit upon a most happy rendering. When Pilate proposed to the Jewish populace the customary release of a prisoner at the time of the Jewish pass-over, the people seem not to have been quite ready to demand the death of Jesus. The choice of Barabbas in the place of Jesus was not made until after the chief priests had pleaded

with the people. And it appears also that the object of the pleading was not so much the liberation of Barabbas, who may or may not have been a political partisan of the leaders of the Jews, as rather the destruction of Jesus, so that it was not love for Barabbas but hatred of Jesus that actuated the priests, Matt. 27, 20. And we may incidentally note that under the peculiar circumstances under which his release was proposed Barabbas owed his life directly to the death of Jesus, and his release is a fit type of the sinner's justification. — Now, the word which declares the things of the Spirit of God meets a like hostile attitude in the natural man. What the Gospel proposes for the sinner's acceptance is repulsive to the sinner's natural affections and is, therefore, resisted with more or less energy. The degree of intensity with which the Gospel is being resisted, and the form in which such resistance is manifested, vary. From the malicious scoffer who begins to foam at the mouth at the mere mention of the divine Name to the politely indifferent who decline the Gospel with specious excuses, there are numberless varieties of spiritual repugnance to grace. In fact, no two persons are absolutely identical, in this respect as little as in any other. Resistance, like every other manifestation of a person's mind toward God, is individual and peculiar. But these differences are of no moment, because they are all essentially exhibitions of that unwillingness which is natural and congenital to all who are born of flesh. And this resistance stamps a person an ἀπειθής, a person who will not suffer himself to be persuaded. The mission of the forerunner was "to turn the disobedient (ἀπειθεῖς) to the wisdom of the just," and in this way "to make ready a people prepared for the Lord," Luke 1, 17. John preached the remission of sins, Luke 3, 3. His preaching was received by some, rejected by others, Luke 7, 29. 30. There was either assent or dissent among his hearers, and on these lines his hearers divided into believers and unbelievers. It was not owing to some intellectual deficiency in John's preaching that some rejected him; for John had come "to give *knowledge* of salvation, to give light to them that sit

in darkness," Luke 1, 77. 79. There is every reason why we should believe that John was very well understood by his hearers. Hence the great sensation which his preaching created. Nor was it the lowly, the simple folk only that were attracted to him; the meaning of his words and the import of his mission were understood by the doctors, and he could gather an interested audience at Herod's court. No, it was not because their intellect had not been offered the necessary data for the knowledge of faith that these people rejected the Gospel: they knew, but did not want to know; they had been ushered into the saving light of grace, but had shut their eyes. The Master, coupling His own mission with that of John, explained the real cause of the Pharisees' unbelief, when He charged them after the miracle at Bethesda: "Ye sent unto John, and he bare witness unto the truth. . . . He was a burning and a shining light: and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light" (namely, if they had succeeded in allying John with the Jewish church council). "But I have greater witness than that of John. . . . And ye have not His (God's) Word abiding in you: for whom He hath sent, Him ye believe not. . . . And *ye will not* come to me, that ye might have life. . . . I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you. . . . How can ye believe, which receive honor one of another, and seek not the honor that cometh from God only?" John 5, 33 ff. These words of Christ plainly charge the Jews with insincerity, and declare their insincerity to be the cause of their unbelief. Their affections remaining perverse and their will obstinate, the knowledge which was conveyed to them through the wonderful preaching in their day only served to increase their guilt, so that Christ had to tell one of them: "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil," John 3, 19. Unbelief has its seat not in the intellect but in the will and the affections. The preaching of the grace of God creates the great spiritual crisis in the sinner's life. The proffered pardon calls for a decision for or against accepting it. The sinner must make up

his mind in regard to it, and take his stand with or away from Christ. There is no escape. Prior to his removal to the school of Tyrannus Paul had been allowed to preach in the synagogue at Ephesus for three months. He had been disputing and persuading, arguing and pleading, teaching and beseeching. At the end of this period it was manifest that his hearers had made their choice. Luke relates: "When divers were hardened, and believed not (*ἠπειθουν*), but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus," Acts 19, 9. This separation is worthy of note. Both sides among Paul's hearers took action, not only those who followed Paul to his new quarters, but also those who refused. *Ἀπειθεῖν* is a negative term, but denotes a positive action; it signifies positively saying no to, it is a conscious and deliberate denial and refusal of, the proffer of God's pardon through the Gospel. The actor is henceforth held responsible for his action. His enmity has broken out in revolt. As his carnal heart had formerly hated the righteous and holy God who speaks through the Law, so this same carnal heart turns against the merciful and gracious God who speaks through the Gospel. The *ἀπειθής* is an open and declared rebel against the Lord (comp. Numb. 20, 10: *מִרְיָהוּ* = *ἀπειθεῖς*, LXX); he allies himself with the adversary, speaking the devil's language and doing the devil's work in resisting both the highest truth and the greatest love. He is self-willed (Stoeckhardt in Rom. 2, 8); he does not *obey* the truth, but *obeys* unrighteousness. *Ἀπειθεῖν* and *πειθεσθαι* are the two verbs which the apostle employs in this place and which our Authorized Version has correctly rendered disobey and obey. Faith is subordination, submission; unbelief is insubordination. In both acts the will is operative. The believer is yielding, the unbeliever stubborn; the believer's will is merged in the will of the Lord, the unbeliever's will is set up in defiance of God's will. As the believer, by the knowledge of his faith, thinks the thoughts of God, so he desires, by the assent of faith, the good pleasure and wills the will of God. It is his own de-

siring and his own willing that is going on within him, and he is conscious of it and pleased with it. He does not act under compulsion or like an automaton. His assent is a free and joyous act, of which his own conscience approves. The unbeliever, on the other hand, because he refused the knowledge of faith, refused to bring into captivity his thought to the obedience of Christ, continues to grope in spiritual darkness, evolving ever new errors and follies from his untutored mind, and because he clung to his natural appetites and desires and scorned the delights which the grace of God proposed to him, continues to be swayed by his selfish motives and passions and finds the Gospel offer of grace repulsive, because its acceptance implies acknowledgment that his natural desires and will are wicked and must be abandoned.

In presenting this aspect of faith we have employed the term "surrender." What is it that the believer surrenders? Faith has been defined as man's self-surrender to God. This view is not warranted by Scripture. Evangelical faith, faith in the Gospel, is not that trust in God which is demanded in the First Commandment. It is not the proffer to God of a heart that trusts in Him above all things, as it fears and loves Him above all things. Faith in the Gospel does not give anything to God, but receives from Him. What is surrendered is the natural animosity of the carnal heart which hinders the acceptance, on man's part, of what the Gospel offers. The surrender of which we have spoken is not the handing over to God of something that is valuable and that God regards as valuable, but it is the removal of something that is of no benefit to God or man, the attitude of defiance, the spirit of contradiction and rebellion against the grace of God and the mediation of God's Son. And this cessation of hostilities is not a work of man but of the Spirit. Gospel faith, also in this second aspect of assent to, and acceptance of, the grace of God in Christ Jesus, is divinely wrought. Paul thanks *God* for the faith of the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2, 13) when he commends them for "receiving" (ἐδέξαντο) his teaching; for he adds these words: "which

effectually worketh also in you that believe." It matters little whether *λόγος* or *θεοῦ* is regarded as the antecedent of *ᾧ*. If the former view is adopted, the apostle must be understood as expressing the instrumental cause of that faith which received Paul's teaching; if the latter, the apostle states the principal impelling cause of faith, God. We adopt the latter view and render "who" for "which." God, through the instrumentality of that Word which proposes faith, effectually wrought faith. He overcame that natural resistance in the Thessalonians to the teaching of the Gospel which would not permit them to receive (*δέχεσθαι*) the things of the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. 2, 13. He wrought in them, as He did in their countrymen in the neighboring city of Philippi, their willing (*ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν τὸ θέλειν*, Phil. 2, 13; comp. 1 Thess. 2, 13: *ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν*). When God works, *ἐνεργεῖται*, the result is a work, *ἔργον*, with which He must be credited. And so Christ states to the Jews: *Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα πιστεύσητε* κτλ. "This is the work of God that ye believe," John 6, 29.

In the passages quoted last we have the verb *πιστεύειν*. The derivation of this verb from *πείθεσθαι* is easily traced through the verbal adjective *πιστός* = *πιστός*. A person who has become persuaded so as to accept the grace of God offered him in the Gospel is become a believer, *πιστός*. He acknowledges and confesses himself a recipient of God's favor. And the act of acknowledging this, and the state ensuing upon the first acknowledgment, the continuous acceptance of grace, is *πιστεύειν*. *Πιστεύειν* expresses the relation into which a person has entered to the God who wishes to save him. He does not flee from God, he does not hate and oppose Him, he does not receive God's overtures with suspicion, but he falls in with what God proposes for his good, he regards God's offer as something salutary and embraces it gratefully. It is worthy of note that the peculiar grammatical construction of *πείθεσθαι* has passed over to *πιστεύειν*. The matter or person concerning whom someone entertains a conviction in his own mind, to whom he yields and submits, is expressed by means of the dative.

Πειθεσθαι with the dative belongs to that class of verbs which express friendliness or hostility (Goodwin, *Greek Gr.*, 1160; Koch, *Griech. Gr.*, 85, 1b). *Πιστεύειν* is likewise found with the dative. And since we also find *πιστεύειν* followed by the accusative, this construction with the dative naturally rouses attention. While *πιστεύειν τι* denotes acknowledging the correctness, the truth of a matter, *πιστεύειν τινί* makes the relation into which the person acknowledging enters to the matter or person whom he acknowledges more prominent. *Πιστεύειν* with the dative means not only to consider something to be a fact and undeniably true, but to accept something for one's own person, to submit to the authority which one has recognized, to believe a person's words in deference to, and for the sake of, the person that is speaking those words. This force of *πιστεύειν* is strikingly seen in John 5, 46. 47. Jesus assumes as a fact that the Jews believed Moses (*ἐπιστεύετε Μωϋσῇ*), not the fact that a person by that name had existed and that he had uttered certain truths, but the authority with which he had spoken, and the value of his utterances. They had yielded assent to his teaching, they had accepted his writings as the rule of their faith and conduct, and were submitting to them. Now, Moses was Christ's witness. Those who believed him ought to believe Jesus. If they acknowledged Moses' authority, they ought to have acknowledged the authority of Him whom Moses called his Lord. But the Jews did not really believe Moses; they did not truly accept what he had written, and therefore they could not believe Christ of whom he had written. They demanded a sign of Christ in order that they might believe Him, *ἵνα πιστεύσωμέν σοι*, John 6, 30, *i. e.*, in order that they might yield assent to His teaching, and accept Him as the Messiah sent to them by God. When Paul took up his labors, the work of Christ was finished. He preached Christ crucified, *i. e.*, he proclaimed to the caviling Jews and to the skeptical Greeks the salvation by the blood of the Mediator whom God had set forth as a propitiation. He demanded acceptance of this teaching and obedience to his gracious will of God, and that by a willing sub-

mission to the great love which God has manifested to the unjust and to His enemies, through His beloved Son. He speaks of his own yielding to the Gospel, *οἶδα ὃν πεπίστευκα*, I know whom I have believed, 2 Tim. 1, 12. He still remembered the former struggle against Christ, and how he had finally bowed to this Christ. He points to the example of Abraham who believed God, Rom. 4, 3. The ancient patriarch had stilled the doubts which disquieted his heart by looking up confidently to the great and truthful God, who can do all things and who never lies, and had entrusted his fortunes and the fortunes of the race to His guidance. The Lord had spoken,—who would gainsay the Lord? He accepted the Lord's Word for the Lord's sake, and with that Word he received all that the Word promised to him. And in the same manner Paul characterizes the Christians who serve God by well-doing as people who have believed God, *πεπιστευκότες θεῷ*, Tit. 3, 8, who have had God accredited to them as their friend and His offers as the great boon of their heart, and who now yield uncomplainingly to His teaching, ever affirming with their devout amen what He says to them and ever accepting gratefully what He bestows.

When Christ began His ministry in Judea, He demanded faith in God, faith in Himself as sent by God, faith in the words which the Father had given Him to speak. He commends the *πίστις* of those who come to Him for succor; He warns His followers to have faith, and inquires after their faith. In every instance of this sort His aim is not to emphasize the amount and the correctness of religious information which people possessed, but their expectation of help from Him. Their *πίστις* was the acknowledgment that He had pointed them the safe way out of all that oppressed their heart, the willing acceptance from His hand of God's pardon to their aggrieved consciences and God's aid to their afflicted bodies. And in the same sense Paul has preached among the Gentiles faith and the obedience of faith, i. e., he has endeavored to induce in his hearers acknowledgment of Christ as their Savior and acceptance of His work as the basis on which their salvation must rest. The *ὁπακοή*

πίστεως, this familiar term in the New Testament, is the assent of faith.

Assenting faith is saving faith. Not only does it secure help for a moment, but for all time. When Paul preached the faith in Christ to Felix, he spoke in the same connection of the judgment that is to come. Assenting faith accepts from the hands of Christ the heritage of the saints, the life everlasting, and this assent secures the hearts against the doubts and terrors which harass the heart in hours of spiritual weakness. Again and again the believer turns to the Lord who has befriended him, and renews his allegiance to His gracious Word, affixing His glad endorsement to the blessed tidings: "Be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven thee."

(To be continued.)

WARTBURG LETTERS OF LUTHER.

(Continued.)

TO SPALATIN.¹⁾

To my brother in the Lord, George Spalatin, court preacher of the Duke of Saxony, my friend and master.

Jesus.

Grace! At last I have received all, my dear Spalatin. I have tried the pills according to directions and soon had an evacuation and a bloodless stool without strain. But the flesh which was injured and torn by a previous laceration is still sore, yea, I have suffered no less pains than before, because, either through the violent action of the pills or through some accident that I cannot account for, the rectum was protruded. I shall await developments.

I am pleased with all that you write me regarding Wittenberg.²⁾ Christ be praised, because He has raised up others in

1) The original of this letter is found in the General Archives of Anhalt. It has been published in Aurifaber I, 340 b, De Wette II, 79, and in the Erlangen Correspondence III, 199. — St. Louis Ed. XV, 2538.

2) Spalatin had gone with the Elector from Coburg to Wittenberg, where they tarried about ten days, till July 4. During this time certain reforms were instituted at the university.

my place, so that I observe that I am not needed any longer. Only Philip, who yields too much to his emotions, is bearing the cross with greater impatience than is becoming a disciple, not to say such a great master of such great men. Take care of him and see to it that our most gracious sovereign do not suffer him to be in want in his domestic affairs. I am displeased because the publication of the treatise concerning confession has been prevented. It would have been a useful object-lesson to the wrathful papists and would have shown them the kind of "fear" that has seized the Wittenbergers because of my absence, since without me they had dared to undertake such things.

Amsdorf writes that a certain clerk of Duke John has written to a lady in Torgau that I am at Castle Wartburg, and that hence a rumor has arisen, yea, has spread everywhere. This rumor will gain credence because it emanates from court, no matter whether the party referred to really knew or only suspected my whereabouts, and we shall have tried in vain to conceal this matter successfully. Thus Satan, our persecutor, is betraying the matter.

However, I learn from my host that the assertion is strongly made everywhere (that I am at Wartburg), and we shall not be able any longer to keep the matter secret, although we are still making brave efforts, and are indignant because our faithful and successful labors are rendered void by such carelessness. By the way, I am well physically and fairly lively in spirit; hence, Philip is fabricating useless dreams about me. If my disease is not abated, I shall go to Erfurt and employ physicians.

It is not surprising that Charles is being merged in wars.³⁾ Poor youth! He will never have a successful issue in any enterprise and will have to bear the punishment of other men's wickedness, because at Worms, being surrounded by ill advisers, he slapped truth in the face and scorned it; and he will

3) Luther refers to the rising of the comuneros in Spain and the war against Francis I of France.

embroil Germany in his own disaster, because Germany consented to his wicked decision. But the Lord will know them that are His. (2 Tim. 2, 19.)

I have seen the decision of the Parisian sophists, with Philip's apology, and rejoice with all my heart. For Christ would not blind them thus, unless He had determined to take this matter in hand and to begin to terminate the tyranny of these people. The treatise against Latomus I have sent to press some time ago. There is nothing else that I must write about, and I am at last a true eremite. Farewell, then!

On the day of the Apostles' Assignment, 1521.⁴⁾

MARTIN LUTHER.

The two following letters are easily understood from the foregoing. They are an artifice on the part of Luther, and their aim is to deceive people as to his whereabouts. They were probably written soon after July 15.

TO SPALATIN.⁵⁾

To George Spalatin Esq., the servant of Christ, court-preacher of the Elector of Saxony, my friend in the Lord.

Grace! I believe that my letter has reached you, my dear Spalatin. Herewith I send you another and other matters besides.⁶⁾ Listen, now, to my little scheme. Since the rumor regarding my whereabouts is growing so strong that people cannot be dissuaded from accepting it, even though they do not dare to claim its certainty, I should like to have you, or some one else, purposely, as by some carelessness, lose the enclosed letter which is addressed to you, in such a manner as to play

4) *Teilung der Apostel*, i. e., the day when each apostle had a particular territory assigned him in which he was to preach the Gospel. Kurtz mentions the legend § 16, 4; the day is July 15.

5) The original of this letter is found in the General Archives of Anhalt. It is found in Ms. in Cod. Dessav. A. No. 85, and in Cod. Jen. a, fol. 108. It is printed in Aurifaber II, 8, De Wette II, 31, and in the Erlangen Corresp. III, 201, also in Walch XXI, 743.—St. Louis Ed. XXIa, 356.

6) E. g., part of the Postils, which Spalatin transmitted to Melancthon with instructions to send it to press.

it into the hands of our adversaries surreptitiously and as though it were to have been kept concealed with great secrecy. And would to God that my letter would fall into the hands of that hog at Dresden who, no doubt, would readily and gladly publish it. Ponder the advisability of this ruse. You will learn from the carrier that I am well. I hope for improvement. Farewell in the Lord.

From the desert. 1521.

TO SPALATIN.⁷⁾

Grace! I hear, my dear Spalatin, that the rumor is spreading that Luther is at Castle Wartburg, near Eisenach. What causes people to surmise this is the fact that I was captured in the forest in that neighborhood. But while people are thus guessing I am safely concealed here, if only the brethren who are with me keep faith. If the books which I have published should betray me, I shall change my hiding place. It is surprising that nobody is now thinking of Bohemia.

I hear that St. George, Duke of Saxony, is still very angry. May he relish his anger, and would to God that he might remain angry as long as he is a papist. I dispose of him in the same manner as did the Landgravine of Hesse, now the consort of the Count of Solms: she knew how to answer this big man befittingly when she instructed her representatives to tell him to remember his grandfather Podiebrad and his mother, who was Podiebrad's daughter.⁸⁾ Don't you know what this keen-witted woman replied to the Duke's representatives at the Diet of Worms?

7) The Ms. of this letter is found in Cod. Jen. a, fol. 10. It has been printed in Aurifaber II, 8 b, De Wette II, 30, Erlangen Corresp. III, 202, Walch XXI, 744. — St. Louis Ed. XXI, 357.

8) It is likely that Duke George censured Anna, landgravine of Hesse and widow of landgrave William II, for marrying Count Otto of Solms-Laubach in 1519, which marriage the Duke regarded as a mesalliance. Lady Anna reminded the Duke that he was himself of Bohemian extraction, having been born in wedlock to his father Albrecht by Zdena, or Sidonia, the daughter of Podiebrad, which marriage was also regarded as a mesalliance. See *Table Talk* by Cordatus, No. 772, St. L. Ed. XXII, 1902.

At Erfurt Satan has directed his aim against us so as to bring our people into ill repute, but he will not accomplish anything; for it is not our people that are doing these things.⁹⁾ Since he cannot resist the truth he intends to disgrace it by the silly zeal of fools. I am surprised that the council is tolerating these things. I am well at present, thank God, and enjoying respite from the papists.¹⁰⁾ Pray for me! Farewell! Our gracious prince desires that my whereabouts remain unknown for the present, and it is for this reason that I do not write to him at all. Once more, farewell!

From my habitat, 1521.

Your

MARTIN LUTHER.

(To be continued.)

BOOK REVIEW.

HANDBOOK FOR THE BEGINNER'S HOME STUDY IN THE WORD OF GOD. By *Carl Manthey-Zorn*, Pastor of Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church, Cleveland, O. Translated by *H. M. Zorn* and *J. A. Rimbach*. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1907. Price, \$1.25.

HANDBUCH FÜR DEN ERSTEN SELBSTUNTERRICHT IN GOTTES WORT. By the same author and publisher. Price, \$1.00.

It is a mistake to suppose that the congregations of the Missouri Synod are growing only by natural increase, and that this growth has been so rapid because the Germans are a prolific race and, as a rule, raise large families. Adult accessions to our churches are not at all uncommon. If all have been reported by the respective pastors, there were about 600 such accessions to our churches during the year 1906. Especially in Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin our pastors have been busy instructing adults preparatory to baptism, or con-

9) See THEOL. QUART. X, 96.

10) This rendering of Prof. Hoppe certainly harmonizes with the context. Walch has translated *et a papistis ferior*: "and I am beaten by the papists."

firmation, or both. Half of the adult accessions during 1906 have been in these three states. Next in order follow the Central, Western, Minnesota and Dakota, Michigan, and Eastern Districts, each of which has furnished a goodly quota of such accessions; in fact, there has not been a district in which no adult applicants for church-membership were instructed. The statistics extant also show that a large percentage of these adults required instruction through the medium of the English language, and were received into the churches by the rite of confirmation. The strict rule of our church in regard to the admission of persons to membership impose on our pastors a good deal of labor. Our congregations hold their pastors responsible for each and every communicant who receives the Lord's Supper at their altars. They demand, in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, that persons shall not be admitted to the Lord's Table who would commune unworthily, because they have not been taught the meaning nor the correct use of the sacrament. Accordingly, our pastors instruct applicants for membership in the doctrines of the Church, and do not admit them until they have given satisfactory evidence, by professing their faith in the presence of witnesses, that they understand the meaning of the chief doctrines of Scripture. In the case of children this work is comparatively easy, because through the work of our parochial schools the indoctrination of the children has been going on for years prior to the child's confirmation. The catechetical instruction, moreover, which is given immediately before confirmation is in most cases imparted to classes of catechumens at a convenient time during the day, and while the catechumens are attending school. But in the case of adults instruction must very often be given to one individual and at odd hours during the day or evening. The course of instruction is frequently interrupted through unavoidable engagements of the pastor, or of the catechumen. In order to advance the pupil speedily, the pastor will be compelled at times to restrict his teaching to the most necessary matters. In short, this part of a pastor's work often proves a grievous crux, and a conscientious pastor is ill at ease during its progress. Now, here comes Pastor Zorn with a very practical aid: a book which can be put into the hands of adults, and by which they can study the leading doctrines of the Lutheran Catechism, and the leading facts of Bible history at home. This book does not supplant the oral teaching of the pastor, but it supplements and intensifies it. It is quite ingeniously constructed. The first part treats the following matters: Natural Knowledge of God; the Bible; Creation; the Fall; Sin; the First Gospel; the Holy Trinity; the Human Race during the First 1500 Years of the World; the Flood; the Tower of

Babel and the Confusion of Languages; Abraham, the Ancestor of God's Elect Nation; Isaac, Jacob, Judah, the Successive Bearers of the Divine Promises; Moses; the Promulgation of the Law on Mount Sinai; the Ten Commandments, in the form and with the explanation which Luther has given them in the Small Catechism; the Forty Years' Sojourn in the Desert and the Conquest of Canaan; Samuel and Saul; King David; King Solomon, the Building of the Temple, the Division of the Empire, and the Babylonian Captivity; the Return from Babylon; the Further Fortunes of the Jewish Nation; the Prophets of Israel and their Prophecies. All this matter is presented in 22 chapters and on 89 pages.—The Second Part discusses, in 19 chapters and on 133 pages, the following subjects: How God Sent His Son, Made of a Woman; How John Discharged, and How Jesus Began His Ministry; the Miracles of Jesus; Jesus Receives Sinners; God Would Have Us Hear Jesus' Word in the Holy Scriptures; the Suffering and Death of Jesus for Our Sake; the Resurrection of Jesus; His Ascension; the Pouring Out of the Holy Spirit; Peter's First Pentecostal Discourse, and the Gathering of the First Christian Congregation at Jerusalem; Faith; the First Article of the Creed; the Person of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; the Office of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ; His State of Humiliation; His State of Exaltation; the Holy Spirit and Sanctification; the Church; the Forgiveness of Sins; the Resurrection of the Body and the Life Everlasting.—The Third Part informs the reader, in 9 chapters and on 58 pages, on Prayer, the Lord's Prayer; the Meaning of the Terms "Means of Grace" and "Sacrament;" the Sacrament of Holy Baptism; Additional Remarks on Baptism; the Office of the Keys; Confession; the Lord's Supper; Concluding Remarks concerning Confirmation.—Pastor Zorn has a peculiar manner of urging and impressing upon the hearer what he has to say. He seizes him, as it were, by force, and makes him listen and understand. There is no getting away from his grasp. And he is very earnest, very persuasive, pleading, direct in his applications even to brusqueness, so that one almost trembles for the pupil to whom the teaching is addressed sometimes with the startling effect of a revelation. This book will prove a very effective teacher by its sound and plain scripturalness and its irresistible address. The original has not suffered perceptibly through the translation; in fact, the translation is scrupulously faithful.—We wish for this book a large sale and suggest that it is also a suitable compend for such as would like to review their Catechism years after their confirmation, but are diffident through want of a guide.

POEMS FOR PASTIME. Selected by *C. Abbetmeyer*, Ph. D.
St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1907.
V and 190 pp. Price, 40 cts.

Ninety classical poems, each one a gem, and many of them favorites of long standing, have here been collected, grouped, and annotated. Byron, Southey, Longfellow, Whittier, Uhland, and Bryant are the authors most favored. Incidentally the compiler introduces our Pastor Meyer of this city as a poet of promise in *The Women of Weinsberg* and in Uhland's *The Inn*. The book affords very delightful reading. Our teachers of English should examine it.

THE LORD'S PRAYER. By *William Dallmann*. Pittsburg, Pa.
American Lutheran Publication Board. 1907. 271 pp.
Price per copy, \$1.00; dozen copies, 80 cts. each; hundred copies, 70 cts. each.

This book represents the latest harvest from a field that has been tilled before by many a husbandman. Within fifteen centuries, from Origen (*περὶ εὐχῆς*) to Tholuck (*Bergpredigt*), there has accumulated a small library of expositions of the Lord's Prayer. The exegete, the dogmatician, the homilist, the hymn-writer, have pored over this prayer, and their lucubrations have served to open the eyes of believers to behold wondrous things out of this prayer and to ponder the height and depth, the length and breadth of these seven words of our Lord. Some of the best books of the most famous theologians of the Church have been written on this subject. And still expositions of the Lord's Prayer are welcome, especially such as are written for popular use. The English Lutheran Church, in particular, has wanted such an exposition; for the work of the most popular writer of our Church, Luther, is not accessible to the majority of Lutheran laymen, being bound up in the Book of Concord with the other confessional writings of the Church. A separate edition of Luther's treatise on the Lord's Prayer in the Larger Catechism would be a grateful addition to the stock of popular literature in our Church. — Pastor Dallmann follows Luther's well-known exposition in the Smaller Catechism, however, according to an arrangement peculiarly his own. The prologue is treated three times over as "a word of faith" (emphasis on "Father"), "a word of charity" (emphasis on "our"), "a word of hope" (emphasis on "heavenly"). The First Petition presents "Our Father's Name:" 1. What is God's name? 2. What is meant by hallowing God's name? 3. How do we hallow

God's name! "Our Father's Kingdom" is the theme of the Second Petition; the exposition introduces 1. the three kingdoms of power, grace, and glory, and shows 2. that it is for the last two that we pray. In the Third Petition the author explains "Our Father's Will:" 1. What is it? 2. How is it done? 3. Examples of doing it. 4. The manner of doing it. "Our Father's Bread" is the theme of the next discourse: 1. What it is: a. "bread;" b. "daily" bread; c. daily bread "this day." 2. How is bread gotten? a. By God's operation; b. by man's cooperation. 3. How to be received? a. With a grateful heart toward God; b. with a charitable hand toward our neighbor. In the Fifth Petition, treating "Our Father's Forgiveness," the author shows 1. why forgiveness is needed; 2. how it is asked; 3. how it is gotten; 4. what it requires. The Sixth Petition explains 1. what is our Father's Temptation; 2. how it is endured; 3. what it requires. "Our Father's Deliverance," the Seventh Petition, is divided as follows: 1. What is the evil from which man needs deliverance? 2. What is its origin? 3. How are we delivered from evil? "Our Father's Doxology" is treated 1. as an argument, 2. as a confession, 3. as a pledge, 4. as a praisegiving. The concluding section, "Our Father's 'Amen,'" explains 1. the meaning of Amen, 2. why am I certain that a true prayer will be answered, 3. why many prayers are not answered. To this is added a eulogy, "In Praise of the Lord's Prayer."

The contents of this book were preached to the congregations which the author has served successively. These sermons have thus been subjected to repeated tests. They are thoroughly Scriptural and practical. The author's style is animated, a wealth of illustrative matter enlivens the discourse, and the diction is adorned with many a choice phrase. Occasionally the author comes dangerously near the point where a preacher sacrifices dignity. We imagine he must be a very earnest speaker and have complete control of his audience who can recite the two silly prayers on p. 8 without provoking mirth and disturbing the devotional frame of mind among his hearers. In a few places, too, we have felt that illustrations, anecdotes, were introduced in too great number and in very rapid succession. The anecdote should be used sparingly in the sermon and with great discretion, lest the audience attaches more importance to the speaker's illustrations than to the matters illustrated. The author's illustrations are often decidedly modern, showing that he lives in the Twentieth Century and is speaking to twentieth-century people. The diamond stud in the shirt front, the Axminster rug, the snapshot photo, the pneumatic rubber tire, etc., — references

like these to present-day life give a certain directness and freshness to the author's remarks. Altogether we observe that concreteness is one of the merits of these discourses, and we imagine they must have been listened to with rapt attention and gone straight to the hearts of the listeners. There are passages of great power in these sermons, *e. g.*, the apostrophe "Thy kingdom come!" sustained through three pages and a half, and the doxology treated as a praisegiving. As a good Lutheran the author is at his best when he preaches the forgiveness of sin and the subduing of sin. His exposition of the Fifth and Sixth Petitions are among the best portions of the book. This book will be a welcome addition to Lutheran home libraries. For use at home especially we wish to commend this book heartily.

THE ELEMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By *Carl August Blomgren*, Ph. D., Professor of Sacred Theology Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill. Augustana Book Concern. IV and 102 pp. Price, 75 cts.

Like Lövgren's Church History, issued from the same press, the present book also excels by its brevity and compactness. To condense the essentials of Biblical Theology in nine chapters (Religion, God, Creation, Man, The Redeemer, The Application of Redemption, The Means of Grace, The Church, The Last Things) and on 100 pages octavo, is certainly a remarkable feat and, if it is well executed, worthy of commendation. It goes without saying that the full elucidation of theological terms, the force of Scripture passages in fixing a certain teaching, and extensive references to standard works of the teachers of the Lutheran Church, had to be sacrificed. Of the older dogmaticians we have found one brief citation each from Luther, Melancthon, Gerhard, Calovius, Dietrich, Hollaz, Bengel. The author's favorite authorities are Jacobs (Summary of Faith), Heinrich Schmidt (Doctrinal Theology of Ev. Luth. Ch.), Schaff (Propæd.), The Lutheran Cyclopedia, and Henry B. Smith. To these he appeals constantly and their writings he cites quite liberally for a book of this size. The book is probably intended as a text-book for use by classes in dogmatics, and the lecturer is supposed to expand its brief paragraphs. — The theological *Richtung* of the author can be gleaned, without great difficulty, from a statement like this: "Theology is the science of the Christian religion, as revealed in the Bible, received by faith, and confessed by believers." This definition (which the

author has italicized like the other definitions in his book) is not remarkable for originality. It has been for many years current coin in all divinity schools in which modern theology is dominant. It was made in Germany. It has been constructed out of Luthardt's "science of Christianity." But the definition is remarkable for insincerity. That the author desires to have the term "science" understood in its common acceptation is plain from the context, because, both before and after, he speaks of "a system of Christian doctrines," "a system of theology," "a harmonious, self-consistent system of divine truth," and "an organic unity" of the facts and truths of divine truth. In his definition the author claims that this science has been revealed in the Bible, and that faith receives it. Just this is what the author does not believe, and therefore ought not say. For he tells us: "The Bible itself is *not* a system of theology, but it *contains* a harmonious, self-consistent system of divine truth." Accordingly, when he declares in his definition that the science of the Christian religion is revealed in the Bible and received by faith, he is insincere. He has omitted one very important feature from his definition, *viz.*, the mention how the Bible, which is not a system, but merely contains a system, does reveal a science and can hand this revealed science, ready-made, to the believer who receives it. In the paragraph preceding the definition the author has explained how this is possible. "All the faculties of man are quickened into a higher and nobler activity by the divine life planted in the soul, through the powers of the Holy Spirit. Not only his spiritual and moral, but also his intellectual powers are thereby enabled to lay hold of *the realities of true religion*. As these realities are apprehended by faith and enlightened reason, they also tend to resolve themselves into a system of Christian doctrines." And in the paragraph following he says: "Biblical theology sums up these facts and truths into an organic unity." "Biblical theology," of course, in this instance is a gentleman; it is identical with what was called before "faith and enlightened reason." Both terms signify not an abstract idea but a *person*, namely, man whenever a higher and nobler activity has been quickened in him and he begins to lay hold of, to apprehend, to resolve into a system, to sum up into an organic unity, the realities of true religion. We hold therefore that the author's definition, if it is to express his true mind, must read somewhat like this: Theology is the science of the Christian religion, *evolved from the Bible by the intellectual powers, in particular, by the enlightened reason of a believer, who has been quickened into activity by the Holy Ghost, and who confesses that he has found this science in the Bible, although it was not there at the*

start. Definitions are convenient forms into which to comprise every essential feature of the matter to be defined. The author states his *summum genus*, science, and a number of *specific differences*, he leaves out the one essential sp. d., the process by which theology becomes the science of the Christian religion. He would have his readers and pupils believe, and state to others, that the science of which he speaks is extant in Scripture, and all that is necessary is that they appropriate it and confess it. To the extent, therefore, to which the author has omitted from his definition the matter contained in the words italicized in our attempted revision above, we hold him to be insincere. The students who shall have to learn this definition have our sympathy. For even in its revised form and expressing the author's mind fully, the definition defines a non-ens. Where is that enlightened reason which has found the realities of true religion, — whatever that may mean! — resolving themselves into a system of Christian doctrines and into an organic unity? The author recommends Luthardt's *Compendium* to the student for further reading. What evidence can the author produce that the Holy Spirit operated through the faith and enlightened reason of Luthardt any more than through that of Ritschl or Harnack? And why is it that the Holy Spirit produces this scientific theology only in minds which have reached a higher and nobler stage of the divine life? When does a particular mind reach that stage? When is the process of systematizing the realities of true religion completed? Has the Holy Spirit perhaps advanced Harnack to a still higher and nobler plane than was reached by scientific theologians before Harnack? Does our author know Muecke's *Dogmatik des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*? It is a fine book to exhibit the process by which "faith and enlightened reason" in the higher and nobler stage of the divine life reached by theologians resolve the realities of true religion into a system of Christian doctrines. The resolving process, when it is fully under way, can be so thorough that there is little left at the end of the realities of true religion, or of any realities. What stands forth ultimately as the product of the resolving process of enlightened reason is neither revealed in the Bible, nor supported by the Bible, nor offered for acceptance by the Bible, but it is the dream and fancy of a religious philosopher who has foisted his theory and forced his system upon God's Book, and has made that Book teach things which it never meant to teach. — The author expresses himself on "the one miraculous attribute" of the Bible, inspiration, thus: "By this is meant: that the Spirit of God dwelt in the Prophets and Apostles and directed them in the progress of meditation and com-

position, yet not depriving them of their freedom and limitations, but guiding them in His divine Providence in the use of their ordinary mental faculties." This statement, too, is in italics. Its teaching is reenforced in the paragraph which follows: "Hence in the diversity of persons, times, and circumstances in the composition of the Bible, there is but *one purpose, one plan, and one pervading unity of divine truth*. The Bible is the most remarkable phenomenon in literature, having a double origin and a double character, yet forming a unit. Its central theme is Christ, and like Him it is *theanthropic or divine-human* in its nature. It is divine-human all through, but without *mixture* and without *separation*. Both thoughts and words, contents and forms, are divine and human alike, in which the *Holy Spirit is ever present with His illuminating and regenerating influences*." The reason why the apostle directs his readers to "the more sure word of prophecy" (2 Pet. 1, 19 ff.) is because every prophecy of Scripture is not *ιδίας επιλύσεως*, not of private interpretation, after it has been uttered, just as it came not *θειλήματι ἀνθρώπου*, by the will of man, before it was uttered, but both the old prophets and their later interpreters were carried forward to their work by the Holy Spirit, *ἐπὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι*. And the influence of the Spirit extended to their *speech*; for Peter says: *ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ*, they spake as from God; their words—for *λαλεῖν* signifies *voces distinctas proferre* (Wilke)—came to them from God, and all that was human in those words was that they were uttered by the vocal organs of human beings. Neither the contents nor the form of those words were divine-human, but the contents and the form were divine and only the *λαλεῖν*, the enunciation of the divine contents and the divine form of the words, was a human act. And for this reason the apostle declares the word thus uttered to be *βεβαιότερος λόγος*. The theanthropic feature of Scripture is not greatly in evidence in this passage. In 1 Cor. 2 the apostle assures his former congregation that his speech and his preaching, when he came to them, was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power. Just to what extent the Spirit guided him he explains in the following words when he says of himself and the other apostles: "We have received . . . the spirit which is of God that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God," v. 12. Here he derives his *knowledge* of the deep things of God from the Spirit. Whatever thoughts he entertained about these matters had been *given* him entirely from on high. He proceeds: "Which things also we speak (*λαλοῦμεν*), not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth." Here

he derives the vocal expression, the utterance in human speech, of those things which had been given him to know, from the same Spirit. Whatever words he employed to declare divine matters were *taught* him from on high. Thoughts and words were both divine, and only the *λαλεῖν* of these divine thoughts and words was a human act, in so far as a man's intellect was employed to conceive and a man's lips and mouth to utter them. And the apostle regards this process as highly appropriate to the sacredness and importance of his and his colleagues' work; for it enabled them to speak *πνευματικὰ πνευματικοῖς συγγέροντες*, matching spiritual with spiritual, *viz.*, spiritual thoughts with spiritual words. God adopted this plan of instructing men, says the apostle, "that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God," v. 5. God actually wished to remove as much as possible every human element from that foundation on which men's faith was to rest. The theanthropic feature which our author claims for the Bible is thus seen again to be conspicuous chiefly for its absence. For it is not the fact that the inspired writers employed human lips in uttering their messages and human hands in penning them, which caused the author to vindicate for Scripture a composite character. He parallels the Bible with the God-man. The human nature in the incarnate Son of God contributed very materially to the work which He came to perform. The human nature had to contribute *quod suum erat*, as the divine nature contributed *quod suum erat* to the work of redemption. Just so our author would have us believe that in the preparation of Scripture the Holy Spirit and the particular writer each contributed his quota, and thus the Bible has "a double origin and a double character." "Both its thoughts and words, contents and form, are divine and human alike." This view of inspiration, too, is a transatlantic importation and a modern figment. It exhibits a Bible which has no existence except in the minds of theologasters of the rationalistic stripe. Its introduction in a Lutheran school of divinity is a most depressing event. We heartily sympathize with the young men who are made to imbibe this erroneous teaching which attacks the foundation of Christian faith.—In the chapter on Creation the author speaks of "creative epochs." It is an unusual application of the term "epoch" to employ it as equivalent to the Hebrew *יָמִים*, limited by *עָרַב* and *בִּקְרָא*. But the retention of Biblical terms in their Biblical sense was probably not the aim of the author. He says: "The *creative epochs* unfold to us a gradual progress from lower to higher forms: matter — vegetation — solar systems (!) — animals and man. This accords with reason and science, and shows that each

successive creative act has man as its goal." This language reveals the author's desire to remain on friendly terms with reason and science, and to adjust his findings from Scripture in such a way as to avoid being contradicted by modern astronomers, geologists, etc. His statement regarding "creative epochs" could be endorsed without compunction by any "Christian evolutionist."—In the chapter on the Redeemer the author introduces, strangely enough, the subject of predestination. After dividing the gracious will of God which moved God to send the Redeemer, into universal and special grace, he gives the reason, in Schmid's well-known words, why there is a special grace in God, and wishing to improve the statement of Schmid, he proceeds: "Stated more fully: It is the eternal decree, purpose, or decision of God, according to which, out of pure grace, he determined to save out of the fallen, condemned, and helpless human race each individual, who, from eternity He foresaw, would, by His grace, be in Christ unto the end of life. (Jacobs, p. 554.)" This special grace the author denominates the "mystery of God." What is there mysterious in God's action? Probably the fact that He foresaw what would occur. And what does this "special grace" amount to? God determines to save those who have died believers. Query: Would these believers be saved by ordinary universal grace? Probably the author wishes to lay stress on the fact that it is *by God's grace* that certain people are in Christ unto the end of life. But again we ask: Is the grace of perseverance, is preservation in faith to be reckoned as universal or special grace? Can *any* believer be confident that He who has begun a good work in Him will perform it? If so, the author's special grace is neither special, nor is it grace if it is conditioned by God's foreknowledge, and least of all can we regard the divine purpose of which the author speaks as a "mystery of God." Everything is quite plain, and God's choice is very rational; any one of us would do exactly the same as God is here reported to have done. The only mystery which we can discover in the author's presentation of the case is on man's side, *viz.*, why some men should be in grace unto the end of their life rather than others, and we should propose, accordingly, that the phrase "mystery of God" be recast into "mystery of man." For since it is plainly man who determines God's choice by his conduct, the mystery why God does not choose him must be charged against man.—In the chapter inscribed "The Application of Redemption," the author explains the *ordo salutis* in seven stages: 1. the call, 2. illumination, 3. conversion, contrition, and faith, 4. justification, 5. regeneration, 6. the mystical union, 7. renovation or sanctification. Contrary even to

Luther's Small Catechism the author has introduced the Law into this matter as a means of enlightenment and for applying the redemption of Christ to the sinner. He claims an illumination also by the Law, and he makes conversion the product of the joint operation of Law and Gospel, each effecting one part or bringing about one stage of conversion. On p. 57 the expression "immediate" ("the knowledge of divine mercy may be immediate and extraordinary") is probably used in the sense of instantaneous. According to the author's presentation, faith is wrought in regeneration, which is correct, but we can make no sense out of his statement regarding the time of regeneration, in which he says: "In adults there is a process of illumination that leads up to the 'awakening of conscious Faith.'" Unless there is assumed already in illumination faith in some form, — let us say subconscious faith, — we do not understand why there should be an awakening. And is it correct to speak of a "*process* of illumination" *prior* to regeneration? We cannot regard 2 Cor. 4, 6 and Eph. 1, 18, 19 as parallel passages. The illumination spoken of in the former passage is an instantaneous event like the creation of light; that which is mentioned in the latter passage is a continuous act. Altogether we miss in this chapter, one of the most difficult in theology, a statement to the effect that all these terms: calling, enlightening, regenerating, converting, renewing, etc., are employed in Scripture to describe the same event, the quickening of faith, and represent the ensuing change from different points of view; also that these terms admit of a wider and a narrower meaning. In other words, the sinner who has been called effectually is in that same moment an illumined, and a regenerated, and a converted, and a justified, and renewed or sanctified sinner; again, the sinner who has been illumined continues to be illumined, and converted, and renewed. — The author restricts infant baptism to the children of Christian parents, but the Bible proofs which he adduces (Matt. 28, 19; John 3, 5, 6; Matt. 19, 14; Acts 2, 39, etc.) are of such a wide scope that we infer the author would not refuse baptism to a child whose parents are not Christians, if the child were presented for baptism by someone having authority over him. — We forego mention of other defects, such as vagueness of expression, lack of precision, which leaves the reader to guess at the intended meaning. — The book viewed as a whole is not an honor to the Church of God's Word and Luther's doctrine pure, and will not be an aid to secure for us the continuance of these treasures.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL. An American Problem. By *George U. Wenner*, New York. Bonnell, Silver & Co., 48 West Twenty-Second Street, New York. 1907. IX and 163 pp.

The history of this publication is told in the "Foreword," as follows: "At a meeting of the Inter-Church Conference in Carnegie Hall, New York, in November, 1905, at which twenty-nine Protestant Churches of America were represented, one of the papers treated the question of Week-Day Religious Instruction. Its main proposition was favorably received, and the following resolution was adopted by the Conference:

"Resolved, That in the need of more systematic education in religion, we recommend for the favorable consideration of the Public School authorities of the country the proposal to allow the children to absent themselves without detriment from the public schools on Wednesday or on some other afternoon of the school week for the purpose of attending religious instruction in their own churches; and we urge upon the churches the advisability of availing themselves of the opportunity so granted to give such instruction in addition to that given on Sunday.

"The further consideration of the subject was referred to the Executive Committee, and a report may be expected at the meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in December, 1908.

"This action of the Conference placed the question on the docket, as it were, for the consideration of the churches.

"On the 30th of January, 1906, in connection with the 10th Annual Meeting of the Federation of Churches of New York, the subject was debated, and after an animated discussion, a committee was appointed to make arrangements for further consideration of the question at a subsequent meeting. At this second meeting, held on the 30th of April, addresses in favor of the movement were delivered by Rabbi Mendes, Father McMillan, Bishop Greer, Dr. Henry M. Sanders, Dr. Frank Mason North, and Dr. Henry A. Stimson, representing respectively the Jewish, Roman Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, and Congregational communions. A letter from the Hon. Charles A. Schieren, of the Lutheran Church, also endorsed the proposed plan.

"To meet objections, and remove misapprehensions, the substance of the paper read before the Inter-Church Conference, is presented in the following pages, together with such additions as may help to illustrate its purpose."

Regarding his object the author says: "The object of this little book is to bring before American Christians a question that must

•

sooner or later be decided. The more thoroughly the question is discussed, the more likely shall we be to reach a reasonable conclusion. Doubtless there are difficulties. But they are *not to be compared with the difficulties in which we shall continue to be involved so long as we do not make adequate preparation for the systematic religious education of our children.*" (p. 45. Italics ours.) The author essays to achieve his object by presenting, first, "The Problem:" "Two questions are settled in the minds of American Christians. One is, that there can be no true education without religion. The other is, that we must have a public school, open to all children without regard to creed. These two propositions appear to contradict one another. The problem is how to reconcile them."

Before proceeding with our account we would here interpose a remark bearing on the second point in the "Problem," which we would like to amend by inserting, after the words "all children," the words "not otherwise cared for," or words to that effect. As it reads, the clause in question seems to say that educating children is primarily a function of the State. We do not claim that the author means to express this idea; on the contrary, Dr. Wenner is very outspoken on the duty of *parents* to provide for the education of their children. In fact, Dr. Wenner holds that the State, due to the neglect and indifference of parents and of the Church, came into possession of an educational system and educational facilities which the Church had erected, and he pleads with the authorities of the public school to "restore to the Church a portion of the time which has been surrendered." (p. 112.) Accordingly, we are inclined to believe that Dr. Wenner will endorse the proposed amendment. To us it is essential. It erects a proper limit to the *raison d'être* of the public school. We also believe the public school to be a necessity, however, in the same way as we acknowledge the right and duty of the State to act as guardian for minors and derelicts. Let the responsibility of providing for the education of the child be placed at the outset where it emphatically belongs.

Next follows a "Historical Review" of child-training from the days of Timothy to the Nineteenth Century (pp. 4—21); a statement of the present status of religious instruction in the schools of Germany, England, France, and Sweden (pp. 22—25); an ardent presentation of "The Church's Responsibility" in this matter (pp. 26—38); the proposal of the solution for the existing difficulties, "A Week-Day Sunday School" (p. 39—45). Each church is to give religious instruction to her own children in her own building for two hours on Wednesday afternoon, or on some other afternoon during the week. "A Course of Study" is outlined pp. 79—81. In chap. VI,

"Lions in the Way," the author meets objections to this plan. "The Child Catechumenate" (partly historical) is discussed pp. 56—78. In the ninth and tenth chapters (pp. 82—105) the author explains his views of the manner in which the Bible Story and the Catechism should be taught. Chap. XI fixes "The Goal" for this educational effort, viz., membership in the church universal and, ultimately, life everlasting. (p. 110.) On p. 38 the author had indicated this aim "the systematic preparation of all the children for the duties of church membership." The concluding chapter once more urges — *The Examiner* calls it an "impassioned plea" — the solution proposed: "*Give us Wednesday afternoon.*" Pages 119—163 are an appendix in which the author offers "Views and Comments" that have been expressed regarding his plan by *The New York Daily Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *The Examiner*, *The Christian Advocate*, *The Christian Intelligencer*, *The Lutheran Observer*, *The Churchman*. The greater portion of the views expressed is unfavorable to the adoption of Dr. Wenner's plan. A few advocate that the plan be given a trial.

The publication of this book and the keen interest which it has aroused throughout the country is an event of the first order. It is, as *The Examiner* has said, "a sign of the times." The two institutions which have been the pride of the average American Protestant, the public school and the Sunday school, are on trial in this book. The witnesses summoned, the jury, and the judge are friends — have been for years — of both institutions. Herein lies the significance of the book. It is not foreigners, who might be suspected of un-American or unpatriotic tendencies, nor people who have no practical knowledge of these institutions, but native Americans of high intelligence who have tested the merits of both, who rise to express their sober judgment regarding them, and their judgment is: They are both insufficient as instruments for educating a generation of Christians. We of the Missouri Synod have been so often branded as inferior American citizens because of our supposed disloyalty to American educational institutions that the temptation becomes very strong, in view of the acknowledgment referred to above, to indulge the spirit of retribution and to say to our fellow-citizens: We told you so, but you would not believe us. We shall forbear, because the matter is too sad and serious to admit of mirth and banter. We should rather express our sympathy with those who have tried the public school and the Sunday school, and have found them wanting. On the negative side of the question there is agreement between them and ourselves, and it is superfluous to go into details and exhibit to our readers the specific complaints which are raised in

Dr. Wenner's book against the public school and the Sunday school. To us these complaints are an old tale, and interesting only because of the source from which they emanate.

Now, as to the positive side, religious instruction of the children of church-members at their churches on Wednesday afternoon, there is no doubt that the plan is well meant. An increase of religious instruction would come to children whose religious training has been sadly neglected, and who would grudge a child this boon? But the plan is not feasible. Many children, especially in rural districts, but also in cities, live at a considerable distance from their churches. Prof. Singmaster's suggestion for obviating this difficulty, and others, cannot be entertained because it is unionistic. He says: "In small communities a single religious school might do the required work. The pastors or competent day-school teachers could do the teaching. In larger towns the children of the same or allied denominations might be gathered into one school." (p. 142.) In order to make the plan operative, not only the children would have to be released, but also a sufficient number of men or women to teach them. And these teachers must, indeed, be competent. In many cases, probably, the pastor could do all the work alone, but in very many cases he would have to be given assistants. If these assistants are to be obtained in the same way as Sunday school teachers, we doubt whether they can be had on Wednesday afternoon. And the brief employment for two hours a week would not justify a person in making this sort of teaching his life-calling. Still more serious, from a pedagogical point of view, is the disproportionateness in this plan between the religious studies of the child and his other studies. All religious teaching which he is to receive during an entire week is crowded into two consecutive hours of an afternoon, not distributed evenly, like the child's other studies, especially the important studies, over five days of the week. Every pedagogue knows that this is a most unsatisfactory arrangement and promises very poor results. The more one tries to picture to himself the practical working of the plan the more skeptical one becomes. It is a half-hearted, timid attempt at doing a duty so as not to offend anybody.

Presuming that our readers are interested in this matter, we transfer to these pages a sample of the discussion which the plan has aroused. The disputants are the editor of the leading church-paper of the Episcopal Church and two correspondents.

THE CHURCH AND THE SCHOOLS.

A proposal is being seriously considered by representatives of many Churches, not all of them Christian, to secure the cooperation of the state and city educational authorities with the churches in a plan for the reli-

gious education of school children. At a meeting, in New York, of which an account will be found in our news columns, representatives of our own church, of the Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Jews, joined in more or less qualified commendation of the proposal of a committee appointed some months ago to consider the matter. The proposal was that public school children, who might desire it, or whose parents desired it for them, should be excused from the Wednesday afternoon session of the public schools that they might receive instruction in their respective churches. Of this plan Bishop Greer said: "If it does not succeed, it will not be the fault of the schools—it will be the fault of the churches. At all events it is an experiment that is well worth trying."

We are not so sure of that. It seems to us an experiment of very doubtful expediency; one that we would much rather leave untried. With all that Bishop Greer said in commendation of the great patriotic work of the public schools, with his indignant repudiation of the aspersion that they are "godless," we are in hearty accord. We agree with him entirely, too, that it is not the business of the public schools to give religious instruction. But neither is it their business to see that it is given. "It is for the churches to give religious training," said Bishop Greer, "that is what the churches are for." "What they ask," he continued, "is that they have the opportunity of doing what they exist to do." This "opportunity" of which Bishop Greer speaks would amount under this proposal to the opportunity to compel attendance at religious instruction by the use of the same system that the state has devised to ensure attendance at public schools. The churches apparently, to ensure their "opportunity," propose to invoke the aid of the truant officer. Moreover, they propose that one-tenth of the time which the state considers necessary for the child's instruction and for the full employment of which the tax-payers are paying, shall be taken for use by instructors of whose pedagogical competence the state has no knowledge, and over whom it can exercise no control. The public schools need all the time they can get for their work. They have not an hour too much. The supposition that one session out of the ten in each week can be given to "relatively unimportant" studies shows a strange ignorance of the conditions under which the school curriculum is devised, and of the anxious care with which the various elements in education are balanced against one another, that every minute may be used to the utmost. We want no interference of the state in education by the church and no interference by the church in education by the state. The plan seems to us bad in itself, even if it were found practicable. It would prove even worse in the results to which it would inevitably lead. For surely the benefit of religious instruction would be a questionable quantity if children found it so uninteresting or their parents were so indifferent to its value that they must be dragged to the church to receive it. The church must win her children; she cannot force them into allegiance.

We do not wish to create in this country conditions that are distracting the English Church and Parliament and injuring the efficiency of both. We cannot forget that the plan has the support of the traditional enemies of public education. To opponents of the American system we would say in challenge and to its friends in warning: Hands off the public schools! — *The Churchman*, May 12, 1906.

RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

To the Editor of the *Churchman*:

As secretary of the Missionary Thank-Offering Committee I am enjoying an unusual opportunity to confer with laymen and clergymen all over the country, respecting the points of strength and weakness in the work of our church. I find a large number of intelligent people who share the opinion which I have ventured to form upon this subject. That opinion is that we are bringing annually into vital relation with Christ a number

of men, pitifully small, when regard is had to our great scheme of church organization and to the power of the message with which we are entrusted. In the great majority of parishes there is little vital religion among men. In the relatively small missionary work of the church the men have hitherto taken an insignificant part. I state what I believe to be facts, not at all in a spirit of hopelessness and depression, but as one who is awestricken in the presence of so great an opportunity for the work of Christian education. I believe it was Horace Bushnell who, in reply to the question, "Has not Christianity been a failure?" replied, "How can it have failed? It has never been tried." This was an exaggeration; but only an exaggeration; not a statement wholly false. In searching for the causes of weakness in the church, would it not be wise to consider whether this is not one of them—that we are not giving Christianity a fair trial?

I venture to affirm that what we need is more direct and positive teaching, in the pulpit, at missionary conferences and in the columns of the church papers, respecting the essence of Christianity, which I take to be this—that it is absolute devotion to Jesus Christ as not only our Lord but our Friend. We have a simple message; but, if properly delivered, it will find a lodgment in every soul. As our Gospel is the good news of the redeeming love of our Friend, so our message is the proclamation of our duty to Him. That duty is twofold; first, to make ourselves fit to associate with Him and hold communion with Him; second, to cooperate with Him in bringing all men everywhere into the personal relation of friendship with Him. But "how shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?"

It is not enough that we have a message. It is not even enough that we utter it ourselves and send others to do likewise. We must devise means to bring within range of the message those for whom it is intended. I am not speaking at the moment of the heathen, but of two classes of people who sustain a geographical or family relationship to our parish churches—the men and the children.

To reach the *men and the older boys*, the M. T. O. movement has been inaugurated, and already God has blessed its progress. I do not refer to the money-raising aspect of the movement. Money giving, except as an expression of devotion, is of little or no subjective value. I speak of the anointing of blind eyes to see the vision of a world to be won for Christ and the unstopping of deaf ears to hear the cry of souls that must be saved. The working of these miracles is the primary purpose of the M. T. O.

But what about the *children*? It is plain that they cannot "believe in Him of whom they have not heard." The lack of insight into the heart of Christianity upon the part of this generation of adults shows that they have been defectively taught. What about the rising generation? Here is a great opportunity and a solemn responsibility. Of course normal children do not want to be taught and will not come voluntarily. By the time we have trained the parents to compel them to hear our message the children will be parents themselves—and we shall have the work to do over again. As a matter of course, we compel children to receive secular instruction. We know that interest and even zeal will come with the recognition of ignorance and the vision of knowledge. Accordingly it is proposed in New York, as you explain in your issue of May 12, to allow Christian instruction in a child's own church on Wednesday afternoons to count in lieu of an afternoon's attendance upon public school. Christianity must be imparted to the children of the church, not by preaching but by careful and systematic teaching. What place more appropriate than the parish church? What thought more important to the child than the thought that to learn to know Christ—not to know *about* Him—is an

essential part of education? Yet in your editorial you say: "Surely the benefit of religious instruction would be a questionable quantity if children found it so uninteresting or their parents were so indifferent to its value that they must be dragged to the church to receive it. The church must win her children; she cannot force them into allegiance." Am I manifesting an unchristian spirit if I ask whether these are the words of one who believes that the future of our nation and of our church depends upon bringing young children to Christ?

But you say: "The public schools need all the time they can get for their work. They have not an hour too much. The supposition that one session out of the ten in each week can be given to 'relatively unimportant' studies, shows a strange ignorance of the conditions under which the school curriculum is devised, and of the anxious care with which the various elements in education are balanced against one another, that every minute may be used to the utmost." Not at all in a controversial spirit, may I ask the writer of these words this question: "What is the relative importance of secular education and of the knowledge of Christ?" Of course school hours are all too short for learning. Art is long and time is fleeting. But the real question is: Shall the little time for learning be devoted exclusively to other subjects than learning to know Christ?

It is proposed, you say, "that one-tenth of the time which the state considers necessary for the child's instruction and for the full employment of which the taxpayers are paying, shall be taken for use by instructors of whose pedagogical competence the state has no knowledge, and over whom it can exercise no control." "The state" means you and the rest of us. As far as we churchmen and our children are concerned, it is proposed that the teaching shall be done in our own churches and under the direction of our own clergy. Whose fault is it if we have no knowledge of their "pedagogical competency," and if we exercise no control over them?

Finally you observe: "We want no interference of the state in education by the church, and no interference by the church in education by the state," and you close by a reference to the conditions that are distracting the English Church and Parliament. Is it your opinion that the separation of church and state should be so complete that our people as a whole are to be indifferent whether or not the children receive religious instruction from the church of their parents' choice? If you do not mean this, what do you mean? In England they are at least distracted over the effort to solve this difficult problem. Because of its difficulty shall we give it up in advance? The plan proposed in New York avoids the chief difficulties which have caused trouble in England, yet your language seems to imply that we proposed to try an experiment which has failed. May those of us who believe that Christian education alone can appease the hunger of the age call upon you for some constructive suggestion? If you have a better plan than this, we solemnly adjure you to make it public. Do not tell us: "The churches are open; the children ought to go voluntarily and be taught there." We have tried this experiment and it has failed. Do not say: "This matter of Christian instruction is the business of the parents." Perhaps so; but the parents are not attending to their business. Do not point to voluntary attendance upon Sunday school as the solution of the difficulty. The Sunday school is a blessed institution, but it reaches only a corner of the field. *The point is, Mr. Editor, that multitudes of the children of the Church are dying or growing up without being brought to the knowledge of Christ.* This is your fault and mine. What are we going to do about it? Your only reply so far is, "Hands off the public schools!" Nobody has suggested laying hands on the public schools. The proposition is to lay hands upon your children and mine, and to bring them within reach of the voice of Jesus Christ. Instead of opposing, will you not help?

Philadelphia.

G. W. PEPPER.

(*The Churchman*, May 26, 1906.)

RELIGION AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

To the Editor of the *Churchman*:

Your editorial of May 12th concerning the proposition to have the public school authorities excuse the children of such parents as desire it from attendance at school on Wednesday afternoons, in order that they may be instructed elsewhere in religious subjects, has not been replied to in your issue of to-day. Failing a more competent person to answer your objections, may I make several suggestions in this connection?

(1) There is no complete and fully formulated proposition before us as yet, other than what is roughly stated above. At the same meeting where one speaker said that he would consider it beneficial to have truant officers compel attendance, another said that there would be nothing to prevent some parents—though he thought that there would be very few of such—from taking advantage of this to keep their children at home for other reasons than to have them taught religion. Certainly many of us agree with you “that it is not the business of the public schools to give religious instruction,” and “neither is it their business to see that it is given.” So also your statement that this is a demand for “10 per cent” of the work hours of the school week depends upon the hour when the children shall be excused, and this is not yet determined. Evidently while discussion of details is quite to the point, condemnation of the scheme for such reasons is quite premature.

(2) Your next objection is that “The public schools need all the time that they can get for work. They have not an hour too much.” Comparing our educational system with that of other Christian nations, we are alone, so far as I know, in not providing for religious instruction within the school week. As a people, we have decided, and most of us think very wisely decided, that we shall not have religion taught by the state. But having surrendered these hours which other nations use for religious training, to purely secular training, does our secular training for that reason outstrip all others—the Germans, for instance? Yet they invariably have religion among their set tasks of the week. Or is it true again, as you claim, that there are no “relatively unimportant” studies which might be put on the Wednesday afternoon public school schedule? Here are certain subjects taught in the public schools to children of fourteen years and under, which do not all appear to be of first importance:

Carpentry, sewing, cooking, drawing, hygiene, singing, construction work (fancy boxes, etc.).

But now suppose it be asked if we have not our Sunday schools to teach religious subjects on Sunday? The best answer to that would seem to be that, barring rare exceptions, the Sunday school simply does not do the work—and this in a day when there is little or no religious instruction at home, and therefore children must be taught outside. Two things, certainly, are accomplished in our Sunday schools: in the person of the teacher the child comes into contact with a maturer Christian and often a highly consecrated character, and furthermore it is brought to public worship. These are splendid results, the value of which cannot be overestimated. But still crowds of children slip away forever from Sunday school, never becoming church members, owing to the fact that religion soon ceases to interest and appeal to them—perhaps it never did—and those who do pass on into church are inadequately taught.

Among the causes for this failure we may note that, first, there is not time enough. Could you teach a child to read if you had him as one of an often disorderly class, for a lesson of from twenty to thirty-five minutes once a week, or could you teach him arithmetic, or religious truths, or anything, except in a most superficial manner? As a matter of fact,

you cannot and you do not, even if you are a clever teacher. And as a second cause of failure the teaching staff is not adequate for the work, often as to training and generally as to numbers. Leaving aside that class of teachers who stay at home because it rains or a friend calls, what the teacher accomplishes is commonly more in the line of character building than instructing, and if anything of real value is done by a good teacher, be sure that the pupils are met outside the regular Sunday school session, and that brings us back to this question of weekday work.

It is necessary here that we should recognize that the standard of religious instruction which Christian people in America are contented with is shamefully low — there is nothing like it certainly among the Northern nations of Europe. To say nothing of the average, your *good* Sunday school pupil can glibly recite the catechism, but, even if in an advanced grade, what can he tell of the doctrine of the Atonement or the evidences of the Resurrection of our Lord? He knows the graphic stories of the Old Testament, but the profounder things concerning the struggles of the ancient Hebrew church are beyond him, while the beauty and majesty of the Hebrew prophets is a closed book even to many an older churchman who never had his eyes opened in his youth. The life of our Lord is learned in outline — fortunately the church year prevents our getting far from that — but how much thorough knowledge is there of this greatest of subjects? Think also of the life of St. Paul, the early church, church history, including the Reformation and our American church, the story of Christian Missions and the formation of our Prayer Book — no wonder that the men who are interested in seeing some real and thorough work done among our children and young people are discouraged. Nor does it lessen the discouragement to be told to go back and be content with one-half hour on Sunday! There is simply one way to meet the problem. We must have opportunity to teach the children on a weekday, and we must have them taught by persons who have been trained to the work, and this not to supplant, but rather to supplement the Sunday school.

But here one may perhaps say, Take the children during the week if you will, but take them after school hours. Does such an objector know children after school hours? Still some of us will take them — some of us are already taking them — tired little bodies though they are, and going home to study their evening lessons later on, too. But we dare not neglect them while we are waiting for their elders to provide a fair and proper time for this important part of their work.

Again another objector may say that, if clergy and parish staff, commonly hard worked enough, are to do this work, what is to become a regular parochial routine? The reply is that parochial duties must always be taken up in the order of their importance, and the older parishioners must be educated up to seeing that this may demand a sacrifice on their part. . . . It can be done and it will be done if we realize that the place for the children is in the front ranks. We elders must look over their heads.

Other objectors doubtless will also raise other points — everything can be criticised — but this question is up now, and be sure it is with us to stay until we solve it. Whether or not we get Wednesday afternoon or any portion of it, whether one favors or objects to any particular scheme, the fact remains that the children are knocking at the door of the church, and I venture to say that as the church answers this appeal which is now beginning to sound in her ears, so she determines her own future. That future is to be built up out of these very children, by the aid of the Spirit of God, and He surely will not lavish His grace upon any church or any religious body which neglects them.

New York.

THORNTON FLOYD TURNER.
(*The Churchman*, June 9, 1906.)

What solution of the "problem" do we propose? None other than the one we have adopted long ago—the church-school, or parochial school. The advocates of the Week-Day Sunday school will find, in a short time, that their plan is a failure just as much as the Sunday school has proven a failure. If you are in earnest, we would say to our friends on the other side, if you really consider it your duty to teach religion to your children, you will have to do that just as thoroughly, regularly, systematically, as you teach them reading, writing, and arithmetic, that is, you will have to teach them religion every day. True, this course entails a vast amount of labor and a very heavy expense. The Missouri Synod counted on her roster during 1906 the following teaching force: 1085 pastors who were teaching school in connection with their other parochial duties, 933 teachers specially trained for this work as their life-calling, and 215 female teachers, altogether 2233 persons who were constantly engaged in teaching the children of the church the Bible and the Catechism just as systematically as the secular branches of a common school education. It seems a misappropriation of the pastor's time to confine him in a schoolroom for the greater part of the week; yet the growth of the synod has not suffered. And it looks like a waste of money to spend,—in a rough estimate!—half a million dollars annually for teachers' salaries, not counting the erection, equipment, and maintenance of special school buildings, yet the work of the Synod has not been retarded in other directions through this great outlay of money. For many years half the pastors and nearly all the congregations have borne uncomplainingly the physical and financial burden which the parochial school entails. The money alone which the Missouri Synod during its existence through 60 years has invested in this work amounts to many millions of dollars. There is not now, nor has there ever been a Protestant church-body anywhere in the world that has voluntarily and unaidedly undertaken this task. This feature will forever remain one of the distinctive features of the Missouri Synod, and no small part of her glory and her strength. The Missouri Synod is not a wealthy body, by any means. Out of their limited resources her hard-working people have been able to maintain a system of church-schools that is without parallel in the history of free churches anywhere. What could the wealthy Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, have accomplished, if they had earnestly taken the religious training of their children in hand! And what the Missouri Synod has done in this respect she claims to have done not for the Church alone, not for her own enlargement, but for the State as well. The parochial school has issued

god-fearing, law-abiding, industrious citizens as well as intelligent and well-informed church-members. It is a mischievous notion and a biased opinion to view the parochial school as an institution that is hostile and harmful to the best interests of the American nation. In the light of the present agitation the advocates of the parochial school may reasonably claim that they have given better evidence of their patriotism than their opponents. Results on either side should pass for sufficient evidence.

Naturally, in this connection, the question arises: Will the parochial school be adopted generally as the only proper solution of the educational problem in our country? We have no hopes in that direction. The present agitation will die out in a few years. Protestant America is too indifferent in religious affairs, and the public school and the Sunday school are too strongly entrenched in the hearts of the people. Thinking men will continue to offer their criticism of both institutions, and plans like that of Dr. Wenner will be advocated again, but we expect sooner to witness the rise of a state-religion and a state-church in this country than the rise of church-schools. It behooves the friends of the parochial school to review again and again the grounds on which rests their conviction that the parochial school is the only school for a Christian child, and to fortify their position against criticism that will continue to be directed against it. Foolish, utterly foolish, however, would those Lutherans be who have the parochial school and plan its abolition, or fail to aid in its propagation. What can they offer us as equivalent if this school is rejected? We venture to say that no Protestant church body in our country, if it were in possession of an educational system like that which has been built up in the comparatively small Missouri Synod, would think of abandoning it, but would cherish and improve it, according as it came to command larger means. It is, of course, a very difficult matter now, after years of neglect, criminal neglect, to provide the remedy which the disease calls for. And it is human for men to speak lightly of what they cannot have, and to manufacture all sorts of reasons why they do not want it. Those who have tried the parochial school system are as keenly aware of its defects and drawbacks as others; they know that perfection is not attained in church-schools either, but the positive good which these schools accomplish is so great and so evident and so plainly unattainable by a different method, that the parochial school even with its deficiencies is very dear to them, and will so remain. We rejoice to record the fact that among us — although there have been defections — as a general matter the parochial school is constantly growing in

favor. At the end of 1905 our statistician reported 475,029 communicant members, 96,723 school children and 33,687 baptized persons (presumably mostly children). At the end of 1906 under the same heads 481,242, 96,964, and 33,264 respectively were reported. We would point out that despite a very perceptible decrease of the birth-rate—an unpleasant phenomenon that has been observed for years!—the attendance at the parochial schools not only remained the same, but was increased by about half the number by which the births recorded decreased.

From a review of Dr. Wenner's book we have passed over to a review of our parochial school system. The digression, we trust, will be regarded as natural and will be pardoned.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

ROTH, REVISION OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG'S HEAVEN AND HELL, Swedenborg Printing Bureau. Boston.

EVANGELIUMS LIEDER 1 und 2 (Gospel Hymns) mit deutschen Kernliedern. Ausgewählt u. herausgegeben von *Walter Rauschenbusch* und *Ira D. Sankey*. The Biglow & Main Co. New York.

LESSONS PREPARED FOR THE USE OF SUNDAY AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS, by *Theo. Graebner*. First Series. Part III. Third Grade. Decorah, Iowa. Lutheran Publishing House. 1907. Price, 20 cts.

This series was reviewed in THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY X, 118.

THE COMMON SERVICE WITH MUSIC (see THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY XI, 109) has been issued in convenient form, printed on strong cardboard, and in three separate editions, containing, respectively, The Morning Service, The Communion Service, and The Evening Service.

MARTIN LUTHER BY THOMAS CARLYLE. Introduced and edited by *William Dallmann*. Erie, Pa. Church Publication Society. 1907.

A neat and tasteful reprint of that part of Carlyle's essay in *Heroes and Hero Worship* which deals with Luther. Rev. Dallmann has written a brief introduction, eulogistic of Luther and Carlyle's essay on Luther.

THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY.

Published in January, April, July, and October.

Subscription Price: \$1.25 a year. Remittances should be addressed and made payable to *Concordia Publishing House, Cor. Jefferson Ave. and Miami St., St. Louis, Mo.*

Contributions, Correspondence, and Publications for Review, should be addressed to *Professor W. H. T. Dau, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.*









JAN 23 1934

